

The Historical
WORKS
OF
Bevill Higgons, Esq;

VOLUME II.

BEING
REMARKS,
HISTORICAL and CRITICAL,
ON
Bishop BURNET's
History of his own Time.

Hunc tu, Romane, careto. HOR.

L O N D O N:

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W. Musgrave.





THE
PREFACE.



*W*HEN we undertook these Remarks, we design'd that the Work should have been much more concise. But as the Plenty of Matter render'd it difficult to contract the Volume, so it gave a little Mortification to leave so much untouch'd behind.

THE Author has sown his Untruths throughout the Book with the Fate of the Dragon's Teeth; the Falsehoods of one Page are no sooner

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vanquish'd, but in the next a new Harvest of Combatants arises for fresh Encounter. Notwithstanding all we have said on this Occasion, there will a plentiful Crop remain to whoever will take the Pains to glean after us.

WE have endeavour'd, as much as possible, to avoid making our Remarks on the same Places, where others have touch'd, who have gone before us; but where the Thing was so flagrantly scandalous, as not to be past over, we thought fit by a new Attack to finish the Defeat.

IN Regard to the Affairs of Scotland, in which his false Assertions are luxuriously abundant; we have dwelt less than we first design'd, on that Part of this History, upon Information that some Gentlemen of that Country had undertaken this peculiar Pro-

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Province, for which they are better qualify'd, by being Natives, upon the Spot, and having Access to Records and Registers; but as yet they have not appear'd; if they should not think fit to oblige the World, we have said enough to disabuse that Nation.

IT is very evident that Revenge has absolutely guided him thro' this History, that Passion more predominant than the rest seems to have animated the whole Design, and has so wrench'd his Reason, and darkened his Understanding, as to make him sometimes fall into the grossest Absurdities, and must convince his Reader, that he was a much weaker Man, than the World believ'd him. A want of Judgment, as it may be some Kind of Excuse, tho' a very bad one, for Errors and Writing ill, so it is an Aggravation of the Fault in Writing
at

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at all, when so unqualify'd by Nature thro' want of common Temper.

HIS Malice to the four last Princes, of a Race, who, if we may believe the Scotch Historians, have govern'd him and his Ancestors two thousand Years, is very unaccountable: This Passion seems to be so very unsatiable, as not to be the natural Growth of a Northern Climate, but to have been brought with him from the other Side of the Alps. It is Pity that he took so long a Journey only to Italianize a Scotch Man, and make no better Improvement.

NOT content with the Mischiefs that he had done in his Life, he seems resolv'd to carry his Resentment beyond the Grave, with a Design to make War in the other World on Virtue and Goodness. If the English Tongue should last a thousand Years,
he

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he is responsible for every Reader whom he deceives, debauches, and poisons; their Crimes influenc'd by him will be charg'd on his Account; that such an Imposition on Posterity was in his View, seems too plain, by his ordering this Posthumous Work to be publish'd so many Years after his Death, when he believ'd that probably most would be out of the Way, who could personally contradict him. This surprizing Conduct seems to support his Friends of one Perswasion in their Doctrines of Predestination, and looks as if this unhappy Man had been ordain'd to commit those Crimes of which it was impossible to repent.

WE shall detain the Reader no longer in this Preface, but only to let him know, that the principal Motive to this Undertaking was the Love of Truth; to make any other Appeals
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in Regard to the Sincerity of our Intentions, after the terrible Example in the Preface of his Book, would be now both ridiculous and shocking to the Reader. No one can imagine that any personal Pique engag'd us to encounter this Author, whom we never had the Honour to see but once, and that was in the Pulpit, perhaps to his Disadvantage; however, we must own that it has so far gratify'd our Curiosity, that if we should live to grow very old, we may be able to tell Posterity, that these Eyes have beheld so prodigious a Man.



REMARKS



REMARKS

Historical and Critical.



RUTH, the strongest Link of human Society, is not more necessary in the universal Commerce of Life, than amiable in itself. The sublimest Idea we can have of the supreme Being, is to call him the God of Truth ; and the Imperfection of human Nature can never so near approach the Divinity, as when we endeavour to imitate this his greatest and most noble Attribute : It is this which distinguishes History from Romance, and is so absolutely essential in a Writer, who is to transmit the Transactions of past Ages to Posterity, that the reverend Author of the Book before us owns it himself in these

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Words :

Words: *Pref. p. 3. For I reckon a Lie in History to be as much a greater Sin than a Lie in common Discourse, as the one is like to be more lasting and generally known than the other.* How well he has made good this Declaration the following Remarks will convince the World, by shewing the Reader such an uninterrupted Series of Untruths as will astonish; not Mistakes proceeding from Negligence or human Infirmary, but from a corrupt Design to impose on Posterity; not from Misinformation or Error of Judgment, but from a deliberate Act of the Will, what the Logicians call a Volition to do Mischief, by not only misrepresenting Matters of Fact, and setting them in a false Light, but positive Assertions of several things which he must have known in his Conscience to be absolutely contrary to Truth; so that if we may judge by the whole Tenor of the Book, we may venture to affirm, that nothing can equal his Insincerity, but his Malice; and, if possible, exceed both, but his Vanity.

It is to be lamented, that this unhappy Author should in some Places so exceed all Bounds of Decency, and so atrociously outrage Virtue and Innocence, as to forfeit that Respect which is due to his Character, and even extinguish that Tenderneſs, which in good Nature and Charity we owe to the Infirmities of other Men.

SUCH

SUCH is the Man, who, to the eternal Dishonour of his Country, has added another *Buchanan* to the *Scottish* Writers, not in Quality of an Historian, but Incendiary; being as much below that wicked great Man in Erudition, Genius, and Capacity, as he seems to transcend him in Disingenuity, Fury, and Resentment.

BEFORE we enter into the Matter of the Book, it will be necessary to make some Remarks on his Manner of Writing, especially his Hearsay Evidence, which never was, nor never must be allow'd in History by the common Consent of Mankind. If such a Liberty were permitted, we could make an Anecdote of this Author's Life, with the Stories which daily Conversation furnishes, that in Bulk would make a Volume equal to his own; and if it were not too mean to imitate his Example, and expose the Conduct of private Life, we could be very merry on this Subject, and entertain the Reader with some Passages so agreeable, as would convince him of his Vigour and Manhood, as well as Gallantry.

As to his Language, and the Turn of his Periods, they are in some Places surprizingly mean and vulgar; but there is one Expression in his Preface, which must not pass without a Remark, that is, *Thou God*
B 2 of

of my Life and all my Mercies ! This I am sure is not *English*, and, as I have been well inform'd, is no *Scotticism* ; so that as these Words convey no distinct Idea, they are unintelligible, which in plain *English* is call'd Non-sense. It is certain there is a Beauty in that Simplicity of Style which he pretends to affect, but could never reach, as well as in the Dress and Habits of Men ; but there is a Difference between Embroidery and Rags, and a certain Mean between a Fop and a downright Sloven ; but he descends sometimes so very low in his Narration, that I have heard a Story told with a better Grace, and more extemporary Eloquence in a Chimney-Corner. His affected Repetition of some favourite Adverbs, tho' they signify nothing to the Sense, five or six times in the same Paragraph, is as shocking in writing, as humming and hawing are in speaking : Besides, his constant Use of ungraceful Expletives shews how little he understood the Beauties of the *English* Tongue, which perhaps is too redundant in Particles ; but these, when not absolutely necessary, are easily avoided by every judicious and polite Author, who always writes the more correct the better he is bred ; of which last Qualification the good Bishop has given us but very few Instances in this his Posthumous Performance.

ONE might have thought that Fury and Revenge, which seem the darling Passions of his Soul, should have animated his Genius, and fir'd his Imagination.

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo.

But he has the Misfortune to be always most dull when most angry, by which he seems to lose a great deal of his Aim and Design, which is to make the Reader enter into his Sentiments, by enflaming as well as deceiving him. In this he would have succeeded better if he had wrap'd his Poison in a more palatable Vehicle, to have made it gone down the glibber; but his Malice is so very pointless, impotent and blunt, as to carry no Edge, and only tear and haggle the Throat which he would cut.

THE first Remark, we shall make, is the ill Blood which he carries thro' the whole Book against the Royal Family and the Episcopal Church in *Scotland*. The very first time that he mentions the King and Bishops, even in his Preface, is to let the World know that they were guilty of very great Errors. This he pretends to have had from his Father, who, he says himself, was a very great Royalist. The Confirmation of this we have from a Person of

much better Credit, who, since the Publication of this Book, has oblig'd the World with a small Sketch of the Author's Life; in which he says, The Father of the Bishop was a Person of inviolable Affection to the King; and that if he had liv'd longer, he would have very much lamented to have seen the ill Conduct, and worse Principles, of his Son; so that it is highly improbable that so virtuous a Man should have given him such wrong and unjust Impressions of any Body, especially his Prince, to whose Cause he was so zealously attach'd, and to whom he ow'd a Justice as well as Duty. The next thing worthy Observation, is the terrible Character which he gives of his own Country and Religion: For, *p. 6.* he tells us, *The Reformation of Scotland was Popular and Parliamentary; the Crown was, during this Time, either on the Head of a Queen who was absent, or of a King that was an Infant. During his Minority, Matters were carried on by the several Regents, so as was most agreeable to the prevailing Humour of the Nation: But when King JAMES came to be of Age, he found two Parties in the Kingdom; the one was of those who wish'd well to the Interest of the Queen his Mother, then a Prisoner in England; these were either profess'd Papists, or Men believ'd indifferent to all Religion; the rest were her inveterate Enemies, zealous for a Reformation, and fixt in a Depend-*

Dependance on the Crown of England, &c. This *Dependance* on the Crown of *England* was certainly, at this Juncture, as treasonably criminal in *Scotland*, as in any other Monarchy or Government in the World; for *England* was, at this time, as much a foreign Country, in regard to *Scotland*, as *China*; and every Correspondence with that Crown was actual Treason without the Privy and Consent of the Prince then reigning. But supposing a Possibility of this universal Defection, as to Loyalty, is it conceivable that the Preaching of some turbulent and seditious Enthusiasts, in so short a time, should so totally extinguish all Sense of Honour and Virtue, nay, common Humanity, in so gallant a People as the *Scotch* Nation had been for so many Ages before? Shall it be said that none but Papists and Atheists acted like Christians, or at least were susceptible of noble and generous Passions, so far as to commiserate Beauty and Majesty in Distress, and to have some Bowels for that persecuted Innocence, whose Story fill'd all the unprejudic'd Part of Mankind with as much Indignation as Pity?

LET the Reverend Author say what he pleases, I can never believe the *Scotch* Nation so totally abandon'd, but that there were great Numbers of good Protestants, who, in Obedience to the Precepts of their
B 4 holy

holy Religion, condemn'd the Madneſs and Impiety of thoſe Times, and ſtill retain'd a Senſe of their Duty and Allegiance to their Prince, with an hearty Abhorrence of that unnatural Rebellion, ſo contrary to the poſitive Commands of God Almighty deliver'd in the holy Scriptures.

THE next Injuſtice is a poſitive Aſſertion, contrary to all moral Certitude, in which there is as much want of Charity as Aſſurance. This is a ſcandalous Character of the Duke of *Lenox*; of whom he ſays, p. 6 and 7. *They alſo ſent a graceful young Man, who, as he was the King's neareſt Kinsman by his Father, was of ſo agreeable a Temper that he became his Favourite, and was by him made Duke of Lenox. He was known to be a Papiſt, tho' he pretended he chang'd his Religion, and became in Profeſſion a Proteſtant.* Thus the Biſhop of *Salisbury*: We will now ſee what Archbiſhop *Spotswood*, a Writer of much more undisputed Probity, ſays of this Matter. *Spotsw. p. 324.* “ Much perplex'd
 “ he was (*i. e.* the King) with the Reports
 “ of the Duke of *Lenox* his Death, who
 “ partly thro' Grief, partly thro' the long
 “ and troubleſome Journey he made in that
 “ cold and rainy Season, contracted a Fever
 “ at his coming to *Paris*, whereof after a
 “ few Days he died. Some Hours before
 “ his

“ his expiring, there came to him a Priest
“ or two to do their accustom’d Service,
“ whom he would not admit, professing to
“ die in the Faith of the Church of *Scot-*
“ *land*, and to keep the Oath which he had
“ given to the King inviolate. This the
“ King made to be proclaim’d at *Edinburgh*,
“ that the People might see what Wrong the
“ Duke had sustain’d, during his Abode in
“ the Realm, by the uncharitable Suspici-
“ ons both of Ministers and others.” The
Reader will here plainly see his Disingenuity
in suppressing this Account, which he must
have known; because he owns himself to
have read this History of *Spotswood*, and
which no Body could have doubted, if he
had not thought fit to have told us so. Now,
in Contradiction to this Authority, he bold-
ly asserts that the Duke of *Lenox* was a Pa-
pist. What greater Certitude can we have
of any Man’s Religion, than when in his
last Agony he avows with his expiring
Breath that he dies in the same Opinion
which he profess’d during Life? And what
makes it still the more indubitable, is, that
he was now in a Popish Part of the World,
where, if he had been of that Persuasion,
there is no room to imagine but he would
have died in the Religion of the Country.
More than all this, here is the Sanction of
publick Authority, an Act of the Govern-
ment, a Proclamation by the King to declare
this

this Matter to the People. This is such a Testimony of a private Subject's Religion, which I believe no Man in *Scotland* ever had before or since. After the Notoriety of this Fact, what can we think of an Author who has the Confidence, in Contradiction to all these Motives of Credibility, thus to affirm that this Nobleman was a Papist? This is not only the Height of Injustice to the Dead, but an Imposition on the Living, as well as the greatest Arrogance in regard to God Almighty, thus to assume the Prerogative of Omniscience, by daring to enter into the secret Recesses of Man's Mind. So that after all, as there is no room left for the Possibility of a Mistake, or Ignorance, we must charge him with asserting a positive Untruth, contrary to his own Knowledge and the Conviction of his Conscience.

THIS is the Man, who declares that he cannot do God and the World greater Service than by publishing this Book, which he seems to dedicate to the Searcher of all Hearts, by that most solemn Appeal which he makes to him as Witness of the Truths which he asserts. If these, and such as these, are the Services which he has render'd to God Almighty, it is to be hop'd that he heartily repented in his last Moments; otherwise, without any Breach of

of Christian Charity, we have reason to be very much afraid, that somebody else has by this time paid him his Wages. But I will dwell no longer on this Part of his Impiety; it fills me, as it must the Reader, with too much Horror.

NOT content to injure private Persons, he judges with the same Rashness of Princes; he first charges positively King JAMES with writing a Letter to the Pope, and then comes off with a general Belief of that Matter. The Reader will best judge of his Charity by his own Words, *p. 8.* *The chief of these were Elphinston, Secretary of State, whom he made Lord Balmerinloch; and Seaton, afterwards Chancellor and Earl of Dunfermlin; by their Means he studied to assure the Papists that he would connive at them. A Letter was also writ to the Pope by him, giving Assurance of this, which, when it came to be publish'd by Bellarmin, upon the Prosecutions of the Recusants, after the Discovery of the Gunpowder-Plot, Balmerinloch did affirm that he, out of Zeal to the King's Service, got his Hand to it, having put it into the Bundle of Papers that were sign'd in course, without the King's knowing any thing of it. Yet when that Discovery drew no other Severity, but the turning him out of Office,*

Office, and the passing a Sentence condemning him to die for it, which was presently pardon'd, (and he was, after a short Confinement, restor'd to his Liberty) all Men believ'd that the pretended Confession of the Secretary was only Collusion, to lay the Jealousy of the King's favouring Popery, which still hung on him, notwithstanding his writing on the Revelation, and his affecting to enter, on all Occasions, into Controversy, asserting in particular that the Pope was Antichrist.

THE Reader by this Paragraph may judge of the christian Temper of the Author, who, notwithstanding the Asseverations of a Person under Sentence of Death, will hearken to no Arguments but the Suggestions of his own Malice, and with a surprizing Temerity affirm, that the King wrote to the Pope, without giving the least good Reason to support the Belief of such a Scandal, so derogatory to the Character of that Prince, who always liv'd a Protestant, and died a Protestant, having never own'd any other Religion; who, as our Author says himself, wrote in Defence of the Reformation, and was in so ill Terms with his Holiness, that he endeavour'd to prove him Antichrist. What more certain Evidence can we have of any Man's Religion? Nevertheless, it is plain that our Author

thor would insinuate, and have his Reader believe, that he was a Papist in his Heart. After such a Violation of all Charity, why may we not, upon as good Grounds, and with equal Justice, insinuate that Dr. *Burnet* was no Christian? I am sure we should have as many believe us. Before I part with this Paragraph, I must take notice of a very wise Saying in our great Historian, speaking of my Lord *Balmerinoch's* Crime; he says, *It drew no other Severity, but to turn him out of Office, and the passing a Sentence, condemning him to die for it.* What would our merciful Author have more, except the Power of Man had extended to Soul as well as Body? This is a most profound Remark; if a *Frenchman* should read this extraordinary *Coup d'esprit*, without enquiring into his Country, he would swear the Author was born in *Switzerland*. *But my Lord Balmerinoch was not put to Death*; therefore being turn'd out of a great and profitable Post, and being sentenc'd to be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, was no great Severity in his Opinion. *This wicked Secretary was not hang'd; therefore his Confession must be Collusion, and the King must know of the Letter*; as if a Prince could not have Compassion on a faithful Minister, who, thro' a rash and mistaken Zeal, presum'd without his Leave to serve him, and yet be guiltless himself.

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This is the Bishop's Logick, which, vicious as it is, notwithstanding he was a Doctor, is as good as his Divinity.

THE Restoration of Episcopacy in Scotland was what our Author could never forgive in King JAMES VI. of which he says thus, *p. 9. But tho' he set up Bishops, he had no Revenues to give them, but what he was to purchase for them. During his Minority all the Tithes and Church-Lands were vested in the Crown; but this was only in order to the granting them away to the Men who bore the chief Sway. It is true, when he came of Age, according to the Law of Scotland, he past a general Revocation of all that had been done in his Infancy; and by this he could have resumed all those Grants.* Here he acknowledges that the King had in his Power the Choice whether he would have paid the Grantees or no; he could have restor'd to the Church those Tithes and Lands which in his Minority had sacrilegiously been taken away; but he had the Generosity to give them a valuable Consideration. This Goodness and Bounty he never thinks fit to commend; but, on the contrary, seems not only to condemn the Manner, but the very Design itself, by the Reflections that he makes, *p. 10. The King intended to carry*
on

*on a Conformity in Matters of Religion with England, and he began to buy from the Grantees many of the Estates that belong'd to the Bishopricks. It was enacted, that a Form of Prayer should be drawn for Scotland; and the King was authoriz'd to appoint the Habits in which divine Offices were to be perform'd. Some of the chief Holidays were order'd to be observ'd; the Sacrament was to be receiv'd kneeling, and to be given to the Sick; Confirmation was enacted, as also the Use of the Cross in Baptism. These are some of the chief Errors in the King and Bishops, for he mentions no other Actions, viz. the paying the Grantees the Value of Estates, to which they had no Right in Law or Equity, the restoring of the Cross in Baptism, and the obliging the People to kneel at the Sacraments. All these things must needs give very great Offence, in a Country where the Gospel was profess'd in the greatest Purity; such an Abomination calls loudly for the severest Censure from our Author; it is impossible that he should pass all this without giving a sharp Reprimand: Let us see therefore how he will take his Leave of this Paragraph, p. *ibid.* Great Opposition was made to all these Steps, and the whole Force of the Government was strain'd to carry Elections to these Meetings, or to take*

*take off those who were chosen, in which it was thought no sort of Practice was omitted. It was pretended some were frightened, and others were corrupted. This is a very heavy Charge on the King, the Church, and Administration in Scotland: But I must desire the Reader to take notice, that our Author is not always equally rash and bold; sometimes he puts on a little Armour, and fights with Discretion; for when he has prepar'd you to believe what he dares not positively assert, for fear of Conviction, he often intrenches himself in a Parenthesis, such as, *it was thought, as it was pretended, &c.* This Conduct secures him from a total Defeat, according to an old *English* Proverb, which is too mean and vulgar to be quoted. He goes on in the same Page with further Reflections on the Bishops; of whom he says, *The Bishops themselves did their Part very ill; they generally grew haughty, they neglected their Functions, were often at Court, and lost all Esteem with the People; some few that were stricter, and more learned, did lean so grossly to Popery, that the Heat and Violence of the Reformation became the Subject of their Sermons and Discourses.**

This is another Charge on the Bishops. It is probable that some of them were Privy-Counsel-

Counsellors, or under other Obligations of attending the Court; but let their Call be what it will, I make no doubt but my Lord of *Sarum* was not less assiduous at *White-hall* and *St. James's*, than the *Scotch* Bishops at *Holyrood-house*, when the Hopes of a fatter Bishoprick, especially any Prospect of a Vacancy in the See of *Canterbury*, tempted his Ambition to make his Court; the Disappointment in which Pretensions has made his Resentment against a certain Prince, his greatest Benefactor, not unaccountable. I do not doubt, but the Number of Souls in so large a Diocese as *Salisbury*, requir'd his Lordship's Attendance at home, in Discharge of his Pastoral Care, as much as most Bishopricks in *Scotland*. In the forecited Paragraph, he lets us into the Meaning of what he calls Papists, or being popishly inclin'd, with which he charges several both in *England* and *Scotland*, who could not, with any manner of Justice, be accus'd of being in the least inclin'd to that Religion, Upon this Head he uses a very short Method with his Enemies, who were all those who were orthodox in their Principles, and attach'd to the ancient and primitive Institution of the Church. These he distinguishes into Fools, or Knaves; the one under the Denomination of weak Men; and as for the others, when their

Learning, or other great Qualities, make that Character absurd, he immediately dubs them either Papists, or Atheists, or inclin'd to Popery; in which last Class he reckons the *Scotch* Bishops, who were commendable either for the Strictness of their Lives or Learning; and the Reason which he gives for this Censure, was their preaching against Rebellion, and their condemning the Tumults, Sacrileges, Murders, Treasons, acted under *Knox*, and the principal Leaders of the People at the time of that great Change of Religion in *Scotland*, all which Violences have ever been lamented by wise, good, and moderate Men, as having given so great a Handle to the Enemies of the Protestant Religion, and brought as much Disgrace, as the contrary Conduct in the Church of *England*, has done Honour to the Reformation. By this it seems, that the mild, gentle, and legal Methods Practis'd in *England*, on the same Occasion, did not so well suit with the fiery and turbulent Temper of our Author, who seems in his Religion and Politicks, very much to resemble the Nature of a Porpoise, a kind of Sea-Monster, who always delights in rough Water, and is seldom seen to rise and play but just before a Tempest.

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THUS has he sum'd up the Errors, which he charges on the King and Bishops; the chief of which in short are, their going too frequently to Court, their condemning the horrid Principles of *Knox* and *Buchanan*, their introducing a decent Discipline in the Church, and obliging the People to a Posture of Reverence at the most tremendous Mystery of the Christian Religion; all which he seems to blame, by falsely affirming that they could not be obtain'd but by indirect and corrupt Means. Thus we are oblig'd to the profound Sagacity and Penetration of our Author, in discovering the secret Springs that gave the first Movement to those momentous Events which follow'd soon after. These Trifles, if they were true, in the Opinion of this great Man, are sufficient Causes to produce and justify that terrible Sedition which rag'd so many Years in *Scotland*, and at last ripen'd into **The Solemn League and Covenant**, the Parent of that unnatural Rebellion, which involv'd two flourishing Kingdoms in Blood and Desolation, destroy'd the best of Kings, the establish'd Church, and a Monarchy almost as ancient as the Rocks of our Island, with all the dismal Calamities which are inseparable from a Civil War, inspir'd by the Zeal and Madness of a false Religion.

THE next ill grounded Insinuation is in relation to Prince *Henry*, whose immature Death he would have you believe was the Effect of Poison; for in p. 11. he has these Words: *Whether his Aversion to Popery hasten'd his Death or no, I cannot tell; Colonel Titus assur'd me, that he had from King CHARLES I.'s own Mouth that he was well assur'd that he was poison'd by the means of Somerset.*

I am very tender of putting any forc'd Construction on the Meaning of the Author; nor would I venture to guess at any Design he might have, which his Words do not undeniably intimate, if I were not very apprehensive of a Snake in the Grass, and that he has laid a Trap for his Reader, of which I think myself oblig'd to give him Warning, that he may be upon his Guard. I should have more Charity for another who had not given the same Reason for Suspicion; but since I have been oblig'd to study so much this Historian, I am perfectly acquainted with his little Cunning, that crooked and serpentine Train of Malice, when he goes round about with a Design, at a Distance, thro' the Sides of one Man to wound another. He seems to insinuate, that if this Prince was poison'd,

son'd, it was upon account of his Aversion to Popery: Now *Somerſet*, whom he mentions, having never been accus'd, even by himself, of being favourable to that Religion, is not a very likely Person to have perpetrated such a Wickedness on that account. But the Bishop knew very well, that the Puritans at this time, with their usual Impudence, in most virulent Libels, charg'd the King himself with having made away his Son: Now he was sensible, if he could but once establish the Opinion of that Prince's being really poison'd, of course a great Part of the Suspicion would fall upon the King; for the Belief of which he has prepar'd the Reader, by telling him before, that King JAMES fear'd his Son more than he lov'd him. Besides, the Pains which he has all along taken to make the World believe how much that Prince was addicted to Popery, both before and after he came to *England*, seem to mark him as the most likely to have made such a Sacrifice to his Fear and Bigotry. If this were his Design, the only way to defeat him, is to prove the Improbability of any Poison at all being in the Case, and to give the Readers some of the false Reasons for this unjust Surmise, which gave a Handle to the Malice of the Puritans. But first let us consider his hearsay Evidence,

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which

which we are not at all oblig'd to believe on his bare Assertion, after the Experience we have had of his Probity. But suppose Colonel *Titus* did really tell him so, it does not follow that King CHARLES I. might not possibly be misinform'd or mistaken. But for once, and no more, we will confront one Hearsay with another, which is a Story that formerly was very commonly told, tho' perhaps at present the Tradition may be a little worn out, by the Length and greater Distance of Time: In the Reign of King JAMES I. there was a very eminent Quack, and, if I mistake not, his Name was *Butler*, a notorious and most rigid Puritan. This Person happening to be present when the Body of Prince *Henry* was open'd, desir'd Leave to try an Experiment; upon which, taking a Piece of Gold between his Fingers, which he had rub'd before with Quicksilver, or some other mercurial Preparation, he put it into the Prince's Mouth: After it had lain there some time, the Gold being taken out by being discolour'd, and some other Marks surpriz'd the Company, and gave a Suspicion of Poison; but this Imposture some time after being detected, confirm'd the contrary Opinion. This Story, whether true or no, has the Weight and Sanction of common Tradition, which I look

I look upon as good Authority, as the Author's Vouchers in the other World.

I should not have laid so much Stress on this Matter, if the Author had been speaking of any other Person but King JAMES, against whom he has so inveterate a Malice, as is evident by the barbarous unjust Character which he gives of that Prince, who, it is true, had some Faults; but on the other hand, he had as many conspicuous Virtues, which he does not vouchsafe to mention, while with the last Disingenuity he aggravates his Failings, in Violation of that Equity, which is so absolutely essential to a just and faithful Historian.

THE next Fault he finds with King JAMES, was his Refusal to rush into a War with the Emperor, on behalf of his Son-in-law the Elector Palatine: He tells us, p. 13. *That the English Nation was inclin'd to support it, and it was expected that so near a Conjunction would have prevail'd on the King; but he had an invincible Aversion to War; and was so possess'd of the Opinion of the divine Right of all Kings, that he could not bear that an elective and limited King, should be call'd in Question by his Subjects,*

jects, so that he would never acknowledge his Son-in-law King.

IN the first place, we must consider that the Behaviour of *Frederick* towards his Father-in-law was so disrespectful, in not asking his Advice in a Matter of so great Consequence; nay, not so much as acquainting him with his Resolution to accept the Crown of *Bohemia*, as might make King *JAMES*, and not without Reason, the cooler in his Concerns. Yet notwithstanding the Justice of any Resentment which he might have on this Occasion, we find that this Prince left no Stone unturn'd to serve the *Paltzgrave*, by Mediations, Treaties, and advantageous Proposals, made to the House of *Austria*, in order to restore him to his Patrimony, tho' he could not in Honour support his Pretensions to the Crown of *Bohemia*, the Possession of which, had been founded on a Revolt of the *Bohemians* from their lawful Prince the Emperor. But without any Consideration of the divine Right of Kings, as our Author pretends, he had better Reasons to justify his Conduct; his Experience had shewn him how fatal this Politick in Queen *Elizabeth* had been to his own Mother. As no Prince would be willing that another Potentate should
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support the Rebellion of his own Subjects against himself; so he could not in Prudence, as well as Justice, do that Injury to another, which might be retaliated on his own Head. But the Argument does not turn on the Point either of Interest or Safety: There is no Dispute but King JAMES had Inclination to have supported his Daughter, and her Children; but the Question is, whether or no, by Force of Arms, was lawful in the Sight of God, who has commanded us not to do to another what we would not have done to ourselves; there are Laws of Nations, and Rules of common Justice, to restrain Princes as well as other Men; it seems that noblest Precept of Christianity had more Weight with the King than the Bishop, who ought to have been the better Divine, so much, as not to have let his Politicks run away with his Religion: But tho' he would not be govern'd by his Bible, he might have been instructed in the Casuistry of this Case by an honest old Heathen Author, *Tully*, who in his *Offices* has very well handled the Case of the *utile* and *honestum*, in which Discussion, that Pagan, in Opposition to some modern Christian Divines, has fairly prov'd that every thing that is profitable is not just. This is true Morality, tho' contrary to the Opinion of
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our Author, and those of his Principles, who by their Practice all along have so confounded these two Notions as to make them convertible Terms, and to signify one and the same thing. Besides the Fault of King JAMES, there is one Reason which he gives for *Frederick's* Misfortunes, which is less weighty than diverting: *p.* 14. he tells us, *That his Queen set up some of the gay Diversions which she had been accusom'd to in her Father's Court, as Balls and Masks, which very much disgusted the good Bohemians.* If Balls and Masks are sufficient to make Princes lose the Affections of their Subjects, I am afraid that most of the crown'd Heads in *Europe* are but in an ill Condition at this time of Day. By this Remark of our Author, we may plainly see that those *Hussites*, whom he calls his good *Bohemians*, very much resembled, in their Preciseness, the good Kirk of *Scotland*. And there is no doubt to be made, if that Princess had ventur'd to have introduc'd *English* Plumb-broth and Minc'd-Pies, she would have given as much Scandal in *Bohemia*, as such an enormous Remnant of Popery has often done on the other Side of the *Twede*.

HE renews his Attack upon King James in the next Page 15. *Other Circumstances concurr'd to make King James's Reign inglorious: The States having borrow'd great Sums of Money of Queen Elizabeth, they gave her the Brill and Flushing, with some other Places of less Note, in Pawn, till the Money should be repay'd; —* *ibid.* Barnevolt perswaded the States to redeem the Mortgage, by paying the Money which England had lent, for which those Places were put into her Hands; and he came over himself to treat about it. King JAMES, who was profuse on his Favourites and Servants, was delighted with the Prospect of so much Money, and immediately, without calling a Parliament to advise with them about it, he did yield to the Proposals; so the Money was paid, and the Places were evacuated. Here he arraigns a Prince for doing, what if upon any Pretence whatsoever he had refus'd, he must have violated both his Honour and Conscience. The Reader, I do not doubt, is entirely of my Opinion in this Matter; so I shall make no farther Remarks on this Blunder, by endeavouring to prove that Obligation, which every common Pawnbroker would have been ashamed not to have discharg'd, if no Law had

had oblig'd him to such a Piece of Justice. Thus we may see how injudicious Men may be transported by Malice to break their own Teeth, with gnawing the Virtues of their Enemies.

N o w at last he brings this Prince to the End of a Reign, which with the last Injustice, he has made so black and infamous. He goes on in the same Tract of Scandal, and would have you believe that King JAMES was poison'd as well as Prince Henry, p. II. *Soon after the King was taken ill of some Fits of an Ague, and died of it. My Father was then in London, and did very much suspect an ill Practice in the Matter; but perhaps Dr. Craig, my Mother's Uncle, who was one of the King's Physicians, possess'd him with these Apprehensions; for he was disgrac'd for saying that he believ'd the King was poison'd.* Both these Notions he insinuates with the same View, probably to make the Son as wicked as the Father; for it is very well known, that the Puritans made no Scruple to charge not only the Duke of Buckingham, but even King Charles himself, with having us'd foul Play towards his Father; and this went so far as to be brought on the Stage by that Faction in Parliament, tho', to their Confusion, they could make nothing of the Matter, but to convince the
World

World of their Malice. So that till we have better Authority, notwithstanding the Opinion of his Father and Uncle, we must condemn this Story as scandalous, being only rais'd by the Malice of the Puritans, a Set of Men, who, as it is manifest by their constant Conduct, being under no Restraints of Conscience, have always thought it not only just, but meritorious, to say any thing of their Enemies, especially when it is to advance their own wicked Designs, nothing being more plain than that their View in this Forgery was to blacken the Reputation of King CHARLES I. by charging him with Paricide: But providentially King JAMES died of a Semitertian Ague, a Distemper generally fatal to old Men, and whose Paroxysms were so periodical and regular as not possibly to be counterfeited by any Art of Poison; besides, upon opening the Body there appear'd no Marks of Violence, but on the contrary all the Signs of a natural Death. As for what he says, *That it is certain no King could die less lamented, or less esteem'd than he was*, this is all of a piece with the rest; he must undoubtedly mean the Puritans in both Kingdoms; for it is notorious that the Episcopal Party, both in *Scotland* and *England*, especially in the latter, where the establish'd Church consisted of the Nobility, Gentry, and the Body of the People, very much regretted the Loss
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of this Prince. But this is no more, than what on the same Occasion, and which I shall take notice of in its proper Place, he says, of his Grandson *Charles II.* whom he has treated after the same manner, as well as all the Royal Family, whom he worries with a most rabid Fury.

AT the same time that he finds fault with King JAMES for his Aversion to the Puritans, he himself gives us such a Character of those People as wou'd make all Mankind detest them; for, *p. 17,* he says, *The Puritans gain'd Ground as the King and the Bishops lost it; they put on external Appearances of great Strictness and Gravity; they took more Pains in their Parishes than those who adher'd to the Bishops, and were often preaching against the Vices of the Court, for which they were sometimes punish'd, tho' very gently.* Here, as it is not his Custom to praise his Enemies, he does not think fit to commend this Lenity of the Government, or shew any Mark of Resentment against the Ingratitude of those People, who so abus'd that Goodness. He proceeds in a farther Description of them, and tells us, *They were factious and insolent, and both in their Sermons and Prayers were always mixing severe Reflections on their Enemies.* In the same Page he tells us, *They were very spiteful against all those who differ'd from them, and were*
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wanting in no Methods that could procure them good Usage, or good Presents. Of this my Father had great Occasion to see many Instances; for my Great-grandmother, who was a very rich Woman, and much engag'd to them, was most obsequiously courted by them. Bruce liv'd conceal'd in her House for some Years; and they all found such Advantages in their Submissions to her, that she was counted for many Years the chief Support of that Party. Her Name was Rachel Arnot; she was Daughter to Sir John Arnot, a Man in great Favour, and Lord Treasurer Deputy; her Husband Johnstons was the greatest Merchant of that Time, and left her an Estate of 2000*l.* a year to be dispos'd of among her Children. And my Father marrying her eldest Grandchild, saw a great way into the Method of the Puritans. After so vile a Character, as he has given of these People, one would have thought in Prudence he should have conceal'd the Faults of his Family, in being attach'd to Men of such ill Principles; a discreeter Author would have let the old Gentlewoman have slept quietly in her Grave, without bringing her again on the Stage, by telling the World that she was so very weak and silly as to be deluded by such hypocritical Miscreants, and so criminal, as in Defiance of the Laws, to harbour such Wretches in her House, and skreen them
from

from the Hands of Justice. But it is to his Vanity that we owe this Story, to let the World know, that one of his Ancestors was Lord Treasurer Deputy, and that another had 2000 *l. per Annum*: Without this View we had never heard of Mrs. *Rachel Arnot*, who seems to have communicated to her Posterity, a great Resemblance of her Chaplains; for whoever will take the Pains to examine strictly her Great-grandson, will find exactly all the Lineaments of Master *Bruce*, and those holy Men, whose Characters he has so copiously given, and in which he seems to have drawn his own Picture to the Life: Whether or no our Author ow'd those very same Talents and Qualities to Nature or Art, I know not, if to the last, the Copy has infinitely transcended the Original.

NOT content to have laid King JAMES in his Grave, he will not let him be quiet there; but before he begins the succeeding Reign, rallies all his Malice to give one parting Blow. Hitherto he has not dar'd positively to accuse him but of common Wickedness; but now, to take his Leave, he boldly, and without mincing the Matter, peremptorily charges that Prince with the greatest Crime against God and Man, a wilful and premeditated Murder. This is the Affair of the Earl of *Murray*, of which he

he gives this Account, p. 19. *Eight Years before that Time, King JAMES on a secret Jealousy of the Earl of Murray, then esteem'd the handsomest Man of Scotland, set on the Marquess of Huntley, who was his mortal Enemy, to murder him, and by a Writing, all under his own Hand, he promised to save him harmless for it. He set the House in which he was on Fire, and the Earl flying away, was follow'd and murder'd; and Huntley sent Gourdon of Bucquey with the News to the King.* Who would not believe in reading this Account, in which he mentions *Murray's* Beauty and the King's Jealousy, that this was some Love Affair, and that the Murder against which he exclaims, if he had not told you the Manner, had been committed by Sword or Pistol, or at least Poison in a clandestine Way? But let us see what Archbishop *Spotswood* says of this Matter: We must go back a little way to give the Reader more Light into this Affair, which was a Conspiracy against the King's Person; of which Archbishop *Spotswood* says thus, p. 386. " *Bothwell* is easily drawn in to condescend; and the Conspiracy so order'd, that he and his Followers should, under Night, be let in at a back Passage, that lay thro' the Lord Duke's Stables; and first that they should seize upon the Gates, take the Keys from the Porter,

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" and

“ and go afterwards to the King’s Cham-
“ ber, and make him sure. This is the
Account of the Design, by which we may
see how necessary it is for Sovereign
Princes to have Guards for the Defence
of their Persons, when we find such fre-
quent Examples of the Kings of *Scotland*,
being expos’d to the Attempts of a few
desperate Men, who have often succeeded
in murdering, or making them Prisoners,
even in their own Bed-chambers. The
same Author proceeds to give an Account
of the Execution of the Design. When
Bothwell, with his Company, had enter’d
“ by the Way nam’d, and was come in-
“ to the inner Court of the Palace, *James*
“ *Douglas*, who minded nothing but the
“ Relief of his Servants, drew a Number to
“ break open the Doors where they were
“ detain’d, and by the Noise thereof, all
“ in the Palace were put upon their Guard.
“ The King was then at Supper; and be-
“ ing told that armed Men were in the
“ nether Court, leaving the Rooms where-
“ in he lodg’d, went up to the Tower,
“ as a Place of greater Surety. *Bothwell*
“ having directed some to inclose the
“ Chancellor’s Lodgings, lest he should
“ escape, made towards the Queen’s Rooms,
“ where he expected to find Entry; and per-
“ ceiving all shut upon him, call’d to
“ bring Fire. But e’er they cou’d find
“ any

“ any, Sir *James Sandilands*, one of his
 “ Majesty’s Chamber, who had supp’d
 “ without the Palace with a Number of
 “ People of *Edinburgh*, entering by the
 “ Church of *Holyrood House*, did beat
 “ him and his Company from the Doors,
 “ and was in a Possibility of taking them
 “ all, if there had been any Lights; but
 “ these being all extinguish’d, *Bothwell*,
 “ with the Principals of his Company,
 “ made shift in the Dark, and escap’d, re-
 “ turning by the same Way that he had
 “ enter’d. In his out-going, he was en-
 “ counter’d by a Gentleman of the Equer-
 “ ry, named *John Shaw*, whom he kill’d
 “ with a Pistol, yet lost some nine of his
 “ Followers, Men of small Note, who were
 “ executed next Morning. I have been
 more particular in giving this Account, to
 shew the Heinousness of the Crime, with
 which the Earl of *Murray* was charg’d;
 in which Matter Bishop *Spotswood* pro-
 ceeds, and gives a Relation of his Death,
 “ p. 387. The Enterprize thus defeated,
 “ *Bothwell* went into the *North*, look-
 “ ing to be supply’d by the Earl of *Mur-*
 “ *ray*, his Cousin German; which the
 “ King suspecting, *Andrew Lord O Chil-*
 “ *try* was sent to bring *Murray* into the
 “ *South*, on purpose to work a Reconcile-
 “ ment betwixt him and *Huntley*; but a
 “ Rumour being rais’d in the mean while,
 D 2 “ that

“ that the Earl of *Murray* was seen in
“ the Palace with *Bothwell* on the Night
“ of the Enterprize, the same was enter-
“ tain’d by *Huntley*, (who waited then at
“ Court) to make him suspected of the
“ King; and prevail’d) so far, as he did
“ purchase a Commission to apprehend and
“ bring *Murray* to his Trial. The No-
“ bleman, not fearing any such Course
“ wou’d be us’d, was come to *Duny-*
“ *brissill*, a House situated on the North
“ of *Forth*, and belonging to his Mother
“ the Lady *Downe*. *Huntley* being ad-
“ vetis’d of his coming, and how he lay
“ there secure, accompany’d only with the
“ Sheriff of *Murray*, and a few of his own
“ Retinue, went thither and beset the
“ House, requiring him to surrender. The
“ Earl of *Murray*, refusing to put him-
“ self into the Hands of his Enemies,
“ after some Defence made, in which the
“ Sheriff was kill’d, Fire was set to the
“ House, and they within, forc’d, by the
“ Violence of the Smoak and Flame, to
“ come forth. The Earl staid a great
“ Space after the rest, and the Night
“ falling down, ventur’d among his Ene-
“ mies, and breaking thro’ the Midst of
“ them, did so far out-run them all, as
“ they suppos’d he had escap’d; yet search-
“ ing among the Rocks, he was disco-
“ ver’d by the Tip of his Head-piece, which
“ had

“ had taken Fire before he left the House,
“ and unmercifully slain.

THIS is *Spotswood's* Account of this Matter, which I have given entire, to prevent any Objections of Partiality, and that the Reader may be the better Judge of the whole Affair. The Truth of this Narration cannot be doubted, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* being then on the Spot, and, as it were, an Eye-witness of this Matter, which happen'd not long before he wrote, and which so many living Witnesses could have contradicted, if not true. So that we may venture to say, that this is the first time, ever since there was such a thing as Government, that the Death of a Person, charg'd with the greatest of Crimes against the Prince, a Design on his Person, and who not only refus'd to submit to the Civil Power, who came with a lawful Authority to apprehend him, but resisted, and kill'd the Sheriff in the Execution of his Office, was ever adjudg'd to be Murder. This will seem the stranger in *England*, where the Authority of that Officer is so sacred, that the meanest of his Bailiffs, upon a Civil Action, when the Safety of the Government is unconcern'd, is allow'd to kill any one who shall resist him in the serving of a common Writ; an Instance of which we had very lately, in
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the Case of Captain *Lutterel*. But the Account given by the Bishop of *Salisbury*, is directly contrary to Truth in every Particular : He says, that the King laid hold on the Hatred of *Huntley* towards *Murray*, to incite him to the Murder ; and Archbishop *Spotswood* on the other hand, tells us, that the King sent the Lord *O Chiltry* into the North, to bring up *Murray*, in order to a Reconciliation with the Marquess of *Huntley*. In the mean while, Information was given of his being concern'd with *Bothwell* in the Conspiracy, and actually with him in Person at the time of the Enterprize ; upon which the Warrant was given by the King for his Apprehension.

I cannot in the least doubt but the Reader is by this time sufficiently satisfy'd of the Disingenuity and Injustice of our Author, in this barbarous Aspersions on the Memory of King JAMES VI. If he had been more candid and sincere in the rest of his Book, this one Story is enough to blast his Credit, by destroying all Opinion of his Faith and Probity : This one Instance is sufficient to shew the Man and his Principles.

— *Crimine ab uno*
Disce omnes —

As it is not easy to find Words that can express a just Indignation, against this cruel
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Treatment of a crown'd Head in the Grave, so it is not less difficult to assign any reasonable Cause for this extravagant and unaccountable Malice against this Prince, who was dead at least eighteen Years before the Author was born ; so he could have receiv'd no personal Injury from King JAMES ; and if any Injustice had been done to his Ancestors, we should have heard that with both Ears from our Author, whose Vanity would not let him slip any Occasion of mentioning his Family, to whom one must otherwise have concluded, that some great Outrage had been done, that this wicked Prince had confiscated and taken away the Estate of 2000*l. per Annum*, belonging to the great Merchant *Johnston*; or, at least, in some Transport of his Lust, had ravish'd good *Rachel Arnot*.

OUR Historian now opens a new Scene under *Charles I.* whose Errors he makes as hereditary as his Title; and as he dwells most of this Reign, as in the preceding, on the Affairs of *Scotland*, we find the same Partiality, the same Injustice, the same wrong Turns, and every thing set in the same false Light as before; upon all which, if we should particularly animadvert, the Objections and Remarks would be as endless as the Er-

rors and Falshoods which he would impose on the World: But with all the Pains that he takes, the Arguments which he uses to lessen the Character of this Prince, and to make him deserve his Misfortunes, are easily refuted, by only doing him the Justice to let the World know, that he was constantly betray'd, and always, with the Fate of his Family, by those under the greatest Obligations of Fidelity. What humane Prudence could succeed, when those, to whose Custody was committed the Care of his Person, when the very Men who lay in his Bed-chamber took that Opportunity to pick his Pockets when asleep, and send Copies of his Letters to his Enemies? A modest Distrust of himself made him often rely on the Advice of others, whose Judgment was less than his own; a Fatality, which could hardly be prevented, by the Difficulty of finding many of his Subjects who had more. As most of his Faults were the Extreams of his Virtues, the fatal Condescensions that he made to his Parliaments proceeded from the Excellency and Goodness of his Nature, and from the Integrity of a Heart, which desir'd so passionately to give all manner of Satisfaction to his People, who made so ill Use of that Bounty. But with all his Failings, before he fell into the Hands of his Enemies, he had it in his Power

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er to have sav'd both his Life and his Crown, at the Expence of his Conscience; and not only the King, but his two great Ministers, *Strafford* and *Laud*, had all three gone to the Grave with their Heads on their Shoulders, if they would have consented to sacrifice the Church, and abolish Episcopacy. That this was the true and only Quarrel, is plain by **The Solemn League and Covenant**, in which their is no Complaint of Liberties invaded, but only an impious Engagement to extirpate Prelacy in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. But without doing this Violence to his Conscience, with all his Faults and Mistakes, both real and imaginary, if his Councils had been kept secret, and his Orders faithfully executed, he would still have vanquish'd his Enemies, and *England* have escap'd the Infamy of that Stroke which no Time can obliterate. We should have wanted one Red-letter Day in our Calendar, and should not at this time, in the second and third Generation, have been expiating the Sins of our Fathers: Then the World, which always judges of Men and Actions only by Success, would have seen those Virtues in the Sun-shine of prosperous Fortune, which now they cannot discover thro' the Clouds of Adversity; we should at this Day with Pleasure be reading his Story, and admiring the King and the Hero, instead of bewailing the Saint and the Martyr.

P. 26. there is an extraordinary Remark. *But the unaccountable Part of the King's Proceeding was, that all this while, when he was endeavouring to recover so great a Part of the Property of Scotland, as the Church-Lands and Tithes were, from Men who were not likely to part with them willingly, and when he was going to change the whole Constitution of that Church and Kingdom, he rais'd no Forces to maintain what he was about to do. By this all People saw the Weakness of the Government, at the same time that they complain'd of his Rigour.* Here our good Author combates a Phantasm of his own raising, and falls into his usual Inconsistencies and Contradictions of himself. What Rigour, what Change of the Constitution in Church and State can he possibly mean? As to the Government of the Church, the King found it Episcopal at his Accession to the Throne; and as for the Tithes and Church-lands, he has own'd himself before, that they were legally vested in the Crown, according to the Laws of Scotland, in the Time of his Father JAMES VI. So here could be no Violation of Property, in taking that, to which no Body had a Right, but himself, according to Law. However, he was so generous as to pay them the Value of those Lands, which was a meer Act of Bounty. This he confirms in a Page or two before; where he tells, that the King
bought

bought the Abbies of *Aberbroth* and *Glasgow*, with *English* Money, of the Dukes of *Lenox* and *Hamilton*, both which Abbies, he gave to the Church; the one to that of *St. Andrews*, and the other to *Glasgow*. Why he mentions that these Lands were bought with *English* Money we cannot imagine; What it may be in *England*, the Exportation of so much Coin, I know not; but I am confident, that the bringing in so much good *English* Money, was not thought a very great Crime in *Scotland*.

By this we may see how our Author argues; the giving Lands to the Church, and Money to his Subjects, he calls changing the Constitution in Church and State. This was the Violation of Property against which he so exclaims; this was the Violence which ought to be supported by standing Troops. If Dr. *Burnet* had been Minister to this Prince, we see what fine Counsel he would have given him. By this political Reflection, we may judge, that the Author was better vers'd in the Maxims of *Matchiavel*, than the Precepts of the Gospel. Thus this Remark in our great Historian, affects not the Prudence and Conduct of this Prince, who, having no ill Design, had no occasion for ill Means to support his Integrity and Innocence. p. 33. he renews his Character of the Presbyterian Ministers in *Scotland*, which can have

have no other Effect on the Reader, but to raise his Astonishment as well as Indignation, to consider how such Wretches, as he himself describes them, should have the Influence so absolutely to govern the Nobility, Gentry, and common People of one Kingdom, and infect so great a Part of another.

THE Author and his Friends, in Justification of the Rebellion against *Charles I.* have always endeavour'd to make the World believe, that the King was the Aggressor, and by his ill Government and Oppressions forc'd the People to take up Arms in their own Defence. But he now gives another Account of the Motives, which engag'd the *Scots* to join with the *English* in the War, tho' at the same time he does not, in telling his Story, very much consult the Honour of his Country; for *p. 35.* he says thus: *When the War broke out in England, the Scots had a great Mind to go into it; the decay'd Nobility, the military Men, and the Ministers, were violently set on it; they saw what good Quarters they had in the North of England.* Thus, thro' his Inadvertency, he gives us the true Motives which engag'd that wicked People to join in that unnatural War against the best of Men and Kings: So that, by his own Confession, it is evident, that their true Design, was to get the unrighteous Mammon of *England*, and to wallow in the Plun-

Plunder of a Country so much better than their own; all which, the Hypocrites varnish'd over with the specious Pretence of Religion, till they had reduc'd that unfortunate Prince to the Necessity of flinging himself into their Arms for Protection; which they had not the Honour, Conscience, nor Justice, to give him; but with an execrable Perfidy, for a Sum of Money, basely deliver'd the Royal Victim into the Hands of his *English* Butchers.

IN *Page* 40, he brings my Lord *Antrim* upon the Stage, whom he frequently charges with being guilty of very much Bloodshed; by which the Reader may plainly perceive, that his main Drift is to render both the King and Queen suspected of being conscious of the *Irish* Massacre, or some thing very like it; tho' in one Place he faintly acquits the King, by saying, that he was innocent of that Matter; yet afterwards he takes no small Pains, by strong Insinuations, to make his Reader suspect the contrary. But this is his constant Cunning: When he has a mind to do Mischief, he first affects an Air of Impartiality, and pretends to do Justice; then immediately afterward he uses so many Innuendo's, and spends his whole Quiver of Stories in Contradiction to what he said before; whereas if he was truly sincere, and had a mind that

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Truth should triumph, he would take a contrary Method, and conclude with his Arguments on that Side where he design'd to leave the most lasting Impression. But let us see what he says of my Lord of *Antrim*, p. 40. *Upon this Occasion I will relate something of my Lord of Antrim. I had in my Hand several of his Letters to the King, in the Year 1646, writ in a very confident Style. One was somewhat particular: He in a Postscript desir'd the King to send the inclos'd to the good Woman, without making any Excuse for the Presumption, by which, as follows in the Postscript, he meant his Wife the Dutches of Buckingham. This makes me the more easy to believe a Story, that the Earl of Essex told me he had from the Earl of Northumberland. I cannot but take Notice of this noble Inference, which is another Specimen of the Bishop's Logick: Because the Earl of Antrim was a little too familiar, and wanted Ceremony with his Prince; therefore he will believe any Bad of him, that he was a Raw-head and Bloody-bones, and eat up Women and Children, as we shall see by the Sequel. But to proceed with his Story. Upon the Restoration, in the Year 1660, Lord Antrim was thought guilty of so much Bloodshed, that it was taken for granted, that he could not be included in the Indemnity that was to pass in Ireland. Upon this*

this, he (Lord Antrim) seeing the Duke of Ormond set against him, came over to London, and was lodg'd in Somerset-house; and it was believed, that having no Children, he settled his Estate on Jermyn Earl of St. Alban's; but before he came away, he had made a prior Settlement on his Brother. He petition'd the King to order a Committee of Council to examine the Warrants that he had acted upon. The Earl of Clarendon was for rejecting his Petition, as containing a high Indignity on the Memory of King CHARLES I. and said plainly, that if any Person had pretended to affirm any such thing while they were at Oxford, he would either have been severely punish'd for it, or the King would soon have had a very thin Court; but it seem'd just to see what he had to say for himself: So a Committee was nam'd, of which the Earl of Northumberland was Chief. He produced then some of the King's Letters; but they did not come up to a full Proof. In one of them the King wrote, that he had not then Leisure, but referr'd himself to the Queen's Letter, and said that was all one as if he had writ himself. Upon this Foundation he produc'd a Series of Letters writ by himself to the Queen, in which he gave her an Account of every one of those Particulars that were laid to his Charge, and shew'd the Grounds he went on, and desir'd
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Directions. To every one of these he had Answers, ordering him to do as he did. This the Queen-Mother espoused with the greatest Zeal, and said she was bound in Honour to save him. I myself was then at Court, and saw a great deal of that Management. As I believe there is no one who has any Knowledge of the World, or the least Veneration for the Memory of *Charles I.* will believe this absurd Story as it is represented. I do not doubt but to shew such Improbabilities as will shock the Faith of the most Credulous, tho' never so much biass'd to the Author. In the first place, he does not tell us any Particulars, when, how, and where this Blood was shed: He must mean the Massacre, or something of that Nature; for any other Bloodshed in the Field of Battle, in open War, and by Persons acting under a lawful Commission, could not be counted so criminal: If it were otherwise, is it possible to conceive that the *Rump Parliament*, and afterward *Cromwell*, would have let my Lord *Antrim* have sat quiet for twelve Years, if they could have charg'd him with any thing of that Nature, especially when they were tempted by the Confiscation of so noble an Estate, on which there was so great a Dependance and Vassalage? How absurd must it be therefore to believe that my Lord *Antrim*, who drew his Sword
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for the Crown, upon a Restoration in the Year Sixty, should want that Indemnity and Pardon, for which he had no Occasion under the Usurpation of forty-eight? He might have had better Authority for this Story, if true, by recourse to the Council-Books. But supposing there should remain no Minutes of this Matter, there was no need of appealing to the Dead by this double Hearsay; the Author could have given us a more authentick Account himself from his own Knowledge of this Affair; for he says, *I myself saw a great deal of this Management, for I was then at Court.* But this Assertion must not pass without a Remark. If we may believe the Date of his Birth on his Monument in *Clerkenwell Church*, Dr. *Gilbert Burnet* was born in *September 1643*, so that he was but between sixteen and seventeen Years of Age, at the Restoration in 1660; at which time he affirms that he was at Court, and saw a great deal of the Management of Affairs. Now I appeal to the Conscience of the Reader, whether or no it is credible, that so young, and consequently so raw a Person, at most but an overgrown School-boy, at this time mean and obscure, and of a Family by his Mother's Side so obnoxious, as to be excepted out of that Grace which was extended to the Guilt of a whole Nation, should have so

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much

much Interest as to be admitted at Court, let into the Secrets of State, and enter the Cabinet of Princes. I do not in the least doubt, but that if a strict Enquiry was made, it would be found that the Author was not yet come to *London* the Summer of the Restoration 1660. But let that be how it will, no Body can believe the last Part of the Story, that he was let into the Secrets of Queen-Mother at *Somerset-house*. This Blunder is so unaccountable, as to make one admire how the Author could possibly be so stupidly careless, as not to reflect better on the Circumstances of his own Age, before he ventur'd to impose so gross an Absurdity on the World. This verifies an old *English* Proverb, by shewing how necessary it is for one Sort of Men to have very good Memories. By this we may see, how little we can rely in other Matters of Fact, on the Faith and Veracity of a Man, who so blindly follows the Dictates of his Passion at the Expence of his Conscience; who, to gratify his Rancour and Malice against the royal Family, makes no Scruple of stabbing the Memory of an innocent Princess, the Mother and Grandmother to five of his Kings and Queens, whose Subject he had the Honour to be born, and for whose sake, if upon no other Account, he ought to have treated with
more

more Respect and Justice, their common Parent.

IN the following Page, he gives us an Account of the *Scots* Commissioners, who came to protest against putting the King to Death. In this Dispute he gives the Victory to *Cromwell* over his old Friends and Acquaintance the Covenanters. That the Reader may the better judge, we will see the doughty and irrefragable Arguments which gave the Advantage to *Cromwell*, and which the Doctor seems to admire, *p. 42.* *They began in a heavy languid Style to lay indeed great Load on the King ; but they still insisted on that Clause in the Covenant, by which they swore that they would be faithful in the Preservation of his Majesty's Person. Upon this they shew'd upon what Terms, Scotland, as well as the two Houses, had engag'd in the War, and what solemn Declarations of their Zeal and Duty to the King they all along publish'd, which would now appear, to the Scandal and Reproach of the Christian Name, to have been false Pretences, if when the King was in their Power, they should proceed to Extremities. Upon this Cromwell enter'd into a long Discourse upon the Nature of Regal Power, according to the Principles of Mariana and Buchanan ; he thought a Breach of Trust in a King ought to be punish'd more than any other Crime*

whatsoever. He said, as to the Covenant, they swore to the Preservation of the King's Person, in Defence of the true Religion: If then it appear'd that the Settlement of the true Religion was obstructed by the King, so that they could not come at it, but by putting him out of the way, then the Oath could not blind them to the preserving him any longer. He said also, that the Covenant did bind them to bring all Malignants, Incendiaries, and Enemies to the Cause, to condign Punishment: And was not this to be executed impartially? What were all those on whom publick Justice had been done, especially those who suffer'd for joining of Montros, but small Offenders acting by Commission from the King, who was therefore the Principal, and so the most guilty? Drumond said, Cromwell had the better of them at their own Weapons, and upon their own Principles. The Author was no doubt of Mr. Drumond's Opinion, or else he would have taken notice of the wretched Sophistry of these Arguments, which, weak and unconvulsive as they are, seem still to be better than any thing that I yet ever saw of Cromwell's, whose Speeches are dark and unintelligible, with very ill Grammar, and often worse Sense. We will therefore conclude that they are the Author's own; and I am very glad to find they are no better. But notwithstanding he gives the Advantage to
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Cromwell, we will examine a little whether or no with Justice. Tho' he has thought fit to produce no other Arguments on the Commissioners Side, but the Obligation of their Oath in the *Covenant*; that alone was sufficient to restrain them from offering any Violence to the King's Person, whom they had so solemnly sworn to defend, and which Promise could not be eluded without the vilest Hypocrisy and manifest Perjury. But as for *Cromwell's* Argument, that they could not come at the Settlement of the true Religion, but by putting the King out of the way, if it were right, as to Reason and Justice, it is false in Fact; for the King had just before, in the Treaty at the *Isle of Wight*, consented to establish Presbytery even in *England*, and would have done the same with less Reluctance in *Scotland*, where they had been us'd before to that Sort of Church Government. As for the Principles drawn from *Buchanan* and *Mariana*, they have been confuted by the Voice of God and Man, and so often baffled by all sorts of Writers, Lawyers, as well as Divines, that there is no need of meddling with that Subject; yet this way of Reasoning, absurd and fallacious as it is, seems to tickle our Author, who might have seen into the Weakness of these Arguments; but he could not extinguish first Principles, and divest himself of those Prejudices, which he had suck'd in with his Mother's Milk;

so difficult it is, when the Bias is strong, not to let our Reason and Judgment be carried away, by the Torrent of Inclination.

THE Author proceeds in the Affairs of *Scotland*, where at this time, by his own Account, there reign'd such a Spirit of Enthusiasm and Faction in the Preachers, as to leave it doubtful, whether the Insolence of the Ministers, or the Tameness of the State in suffering such Indignities, were greater. And now he brings CHARLES I. to the last Scene of his Life, in which there was somewhat so christian, so heroick, so beyond all Example surprizing, as to extort, even from the Disingenuity of the Author, a Confession of that Greatness in the Man, which he had all along before deny'd to the Character of the Prince. I must be so just to the Bishop, as to observe that he has treated Archbishop *Laud*, and my Lord *Strafford*, when in the same Circumstances, with the same Generosity. My Lord *Montross* also tast'd a little of his Favour only by being hang'd; as if the Pleasure and Satisfaction of having brought his Enemies to the Gallows, had vanquish'd his Spleen, and put him enough in good Humour to do a little Justice at last. All this is the Effect of his Cunning, and not from any Goodness in his Nature, by this dissembled Air of Impartiality, to make his Reader the more easily

easily believe all he has said to their Prejudice before.

THE ARRIVAL of CHARLES II. in *Scotland*, after the Treaty of *Breda*, has given the Author an Opportunity to paint the Covenanters in their proper Colours; but what is surprizing, is, after the unaccountable Treatment of that Prince among them, even by his own Confession, that he should afterwards blame and be angry with him, for having no very great Kindness for a sort of Men, who had loaded him with so many Indignities. And what is still more inconsistent, is, that the very same Persons, whom in their publick Capacity, and by their Actions, he has made unworthy the Name of Men, when he comes to give their particular Characters, are all his Saints and his Heroes.

THE Author having now buried the King, the Monarchy, and the Church, proceeds to the Funeral of his own Country, which he seems to mention not only with Unconcern, but a Pleasure very unbecoming a *Scotsman*, p. 61. *There was a considerable Force of about 7 or 8000 Men kept in Scotland: Those were paid exactly, and strictly disciplin'd. The Pay of the Army brought so much Money into the Kingdom, that it continued all that while in a very flourishing State.*

State. Cromwell built three Citadels, at Leith, Air, and Inverness, besides many little Forts. There was good Justice done, and Vice was suppress'd and punish'd. So that we always reckon those eight Years of Usurpation a Time of great Peace and Prosperity. This is the Account which the Doctor gives, with so much cool Blood, of his Country's being subdu'd by their ancient and hereditary Enemy, different in every thing but Language, in Laws, Customs, and Religion; for the Presbyterians of *Scotland*, had as much Aversion to the Anabaptists, Independents, and other Sectaries, who were their Masters, and bore the Sway at this time in *England*, as they had to the Church of that Name. What a strange Idea would the Author give us of the Poverty of his Country, as to make so wretched an Equivalent, as the Pay of 8000 Men spent among them, compensate for the Loss of the greatest of Blessings, that of Liberty? That *Scotland* was as absolutely reduc'd at this time, as ever any one Nation was conquer'd by another, is past Dispute; Forts and Citadels built to bridle and restrain them, with all other Marks of Servitude and Slavery. In such a melancholy Situation, can we possibly conceive that the *Scotch* Nation, let the Lenity of the Conqueror be never so great, could be so abandon'd to all Sense of Shame, as not

not to feel the Weight of those Chains which they could not break? Was the Loss of their Monarchy, boasted the most ancient in Christendom, their entire Constitution and Independence, no Evil? This he calls a flourishing Condition, to be subject to their Fellow-Subjects, under the Confusion and Anarchy which reign'd at this time in the Government of *England*; while so ancient a Nobility, perhaps the most illustrious in *Europe*, had the Honour to be Vassals to Draymen and Coblers: This he calls a Time of great Peace and Prosperity. As nothing is great or little, good or bad, but when compar'd with another; so it is the Change of Condition that makes the Misery; the Thought of the present, with Reflection on the past. This was the State of *Scotland* at this time, who could not without Sighs look back on her ancient Glory, and remember her noble Progenitors, who made so considerable a Figure in the World, were courted by foreign Alliances, even the greatest in Christendom; who for so many Ages defended their Freedom; and, under all the Disadvantages of Climate, Soil, and Situation, without any other Fund but their personal Valour and Virtue, resisted so long the Riches and Power of *England*; who, tho' over-run for a time, always recover'd their Losses at last; and in their Turn not only repell'd, but often defeated, pursu'd,

purfu'd, and at his own Door insulted the insolent Victor. I will say no more, but leave him to the Correction of his own Country-men, who, if they have any of that old and generous Blood in their Veins, will find it all flush in their Cheeks, and feel a Pulsation in every Artery at the mention of such a Reproach.

P. 64. he first mentions Doctor *Sharp*, afterward Archbishop of St. *Andrews*. Against this reverend and worthy Prelate, the Author seems to have a most inveterate and implacable Malice; for he treats him all along, not only with the last Injustice, but Fury; in Violation of that Humility which is essential to a good Clergyman, the good Manners inseparable from a Gentleman, and that Charity so absolutely necessary to every Christian. Of this great and good Man, he tells us a second-hand scandalous Story, which he pretends to have from Bishop *Wilkins*, p. 64. *Upon this Wilkins spoke to Sharp, that it was plain by their Breach, that Presbytery could not be manag'd so as to maintain Order among them, and that an Episcopacy must be brought in to settle them; but Sharp could not bear the Discourse, and rejected it with Horror.* Here is another hearsay Evidence, which no Man can contradict to a Confutation without raising the Dead. This is such an Invention in Writing,

ting, as will sap the Foundation of all Credit, and open a Door to a Torrent of Scandal, whenever an Author, under no Restraint of Honour and Conscience, will let loose the Reins to his Malice, and follow the Dictates of his reigning Passion. This is a Method as much against the Laws of History, after this manner to assassinate a Man's Reputation, where there can be no Defence, as Dark-lanterns and Stilettoes are unlawful Weapons to attack his Person. In this Case there is nothing to be done, but to refer the Reader to the general Character of the Man, and fairly leave him to his own Opinion, whether he will believe the Accuser, or the accused. Dr. *Sharp* liv'd in a time when Episcopacy was depos'd, and Presbytery the reigning and establish'd Religion in *Scotland*, which is an excuse for being of that Ministry, tho', in his Judgment, it is more than probable, that he had a better Opinion of the old primitive Government of the Church. As the Kirk then was divided into two Factions, he chose the Party of the Resolutioners, which were the more moderate Men, and not disaffected to the King and regal Government; whereas the Protesters were in a strict Alliance with the republican Sectaries in *England*. This makes it improbable, that Dr. *Sharp*, who was a Royalist in his Heart, should have such an Aversion to an Order,
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of which he was afterwards so great an Ornament, as well as Support, and who could not but know, that the Crown and the Mitre were so interwoven as always to support one another. The Case being thus, if Dr. *Sharp* was innocent of what is laid to his Charge, which is more than probable, the Scandal must lie between Dr. *Burnet* and Dr. *Wilkins*; but the last being *rectus in Curia*, is to be preferr'd in the good Opinion of the World before the other, whom we have already so often convicted of wilful Untruth. Besides, if the thing were true, there are some Grains of Allowance for human Prudence, in not being too open before a Man, who had married the Sister of *Oliver Cromwell*.

AFTER having shew'd some Dissatisfaction, that *Cromwell* refus'd the Kingship, because our Author believ'd that it would eternally have shut the Door against any Hope of a Restoration, he falls foul upon the Cavaliers, whom he seems to charge with Hypocrisy, for striking in with the Republican Party against that Usurper, p. 79. *They were then all zealous Commonwealth Men, according to the Directions sent them from those about the King. Their Business was to oppose Cromwell on all his Demands; and so to weaken him at home, and expose him abroad. When some of the*

the other Party took notice of this great Change, from being the Abettors of Prerogative to become the Patrons of Liberty, they pretended their Education in the Court, and their Obligation to it had engag'd them that way ; but now since that was out of Doors, they had the common Principles of humane Nature and the Love of Liberty. By this means, as the old Republicans assisted and protected them, so at the same time they strengthen'd the Faction against Cromwell. But these very Men at the Restoration shook off this Disguise, and reverted to their old Principles, for a high Prerogative and absolute Power: They said they were for Liberty, when it was a Mean to distress one who they thought had no Right to govern ; but when the Government return'd to its old Channel, they were still as firm to all prerogative Notions, and as great Enemies to Liberty as ever.

HERE the Author, under a Colour of reflecting on the Cavaliers, has pull'd off the Mask, and plainly shew'd us his Principles : He calls being a Republican, to have the Principles of human Nature ; and makes the Prerogative of the Crown and the Liberties of the People, inconsistent in themselves. But if the Doctor, with the same Application, had studied our own Constitution, as well as that of Geneva and Swisserland, he
might

might have seen, without Spectacles, the Bounds which the Laws have set to both; and that the same Authority or Sanction, which gives the People their Right, entitles the King to his. So that without any Contradiction, the Cavaliers might have retain'd the Principles of human Nature with a Love of Liberty, and at the same time have asserted the King's just and legal Prerogative. By this it is plain, that the Bishop of *Salisbury* was no more a Friend to the Monarchy, to the Constitution in the State, than in the Church of *England*.

THIS was certainly a very innocent Dissimulation; and if the Author had never been guilty of a worse, he would not have had Mankind in Arms against him to detect his Forgeries. Nothing can be more unreasonable, than to call the Conduct of the Cavaliers in this Point Hypocrisy and Prevarication, the making use of one Tyrant to destroy another; as if an honest Man being robb'd by two Thieves, who should quarrel in sharing the Booty, were not at Liberty to take Part with the one, in order to destroy and recover his Money from both. The Cases are so parallel, as must convince the Reader that our good Author sometimes nods, and is often as weak, as he is always malicious.

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FROM abusing the honest Party in *England*, he proceeds to a national Reflection, in which he shews as much Ignorance, as Injustice. Speaking of the *Irish* who follow'd the Fortunes of King CHARLES II. in Exile, he says thus, p. 73. *They also settled a Pay for such of the Subjects of the three Kingdoms as would come and serve under our Princes; but few came, except from Ireland. Of these some Regiments were form'd; but tho' this gave them a great and lasting Interest in our Court, especially in King JAMES's, they did not much deserve it.* Here the Author would run the Risque of being rather thought ignorant, than not gratify his Malice; for if he had read the History of those Wars in *Flanders*, he would have found that those very *Irish* Troops so distinguish'd themselves, as to acquire a very great Reputation abroad, especially in the *Spanish* Service.

P. 77, he tells us several Stories which he had from one *Stoupe*, a *Swiss*, who seems to have furnish'd the Author with most of his Intelligences relating to these Times. Among others, he gives you a long Detail of a Plot, how an *Irishman* was sent over from *Flanders* to assassinate *Cromwell*; and that he lodg'd in *King-street, Westminster*; but that *Thurloe* despis'd the Intelligence, and
would

would not so much as search for the Man. P. 77. *A few Weeks after, Syndercomb's Design of assassinating Cromwell near Brentford, as he was going to Hampton-Court, was discover'd. When he was examin'd, it appear'd that he was the Person set out in the Letters from Brussels. So Lisle said to Cromwell, this is the very Man of whom Stoupe had the Notice given him. Either Stoupe impos'd on the Author, or else the Author mistook this Plot for some other: or invented the Story himself; for the Account which he has given cannot be true.* In the first place, *Miles Syndercomb* was no *Irishman*, being born at *Basingstoke* in *Hampshire*: He was never in *Flanders*, but was broke in *Scotland*, and turn'd out of the Army for Disaffection to *Cromwell*: He was an Anabaptist by Profession, a zealous Sectary, and a mortal Enemy to the King and monarchical Government: His Quarrel to *Cromwell*, was his having depos'd the *Rump*, and usurp'd the Power in a single Person. How all this agrees with the Author's Account, of an *Irishman* sent over by the Cavaliers from *Flanders*, let the Reader judge. As in this Affair the Author has no Interest to serve, no Malice or Passion to gratify, we will for once have the Charity, to believe that he was only mistaken, without any wilful Design of perverting the Truth. As this Story

Story is a Matter of no Consequence, I have only mention'd it, to shew how little we can depend on his hearsay Narrative, which he takes upon Trust, often charges the Circumstances on his Memory, which being sometimes deficient, he supplies the rest with his own fruitful Invention, and patches a Story together only to amuse his Reader.

AFTER this, he concludes the History of *Cromwell's* Reign with too favourable Sentiments for that Usurper, whose true Character has been often given with more Integrity by juster Historians, so as to leave it an unnecessary Task to disabuse the Reader. I shall only therefore take notice of one Quality which he gives him: This is his Zeal for the Protestant Religion; of which we must say, that the Author did not well consider, that he made no great Compliment to any Religion by giving it no better a Patron. In the first Place, we may affirm, that if he did not counterfeit his Enthusiasm, he was a Madman; and if it was all fictitious, only to serve his Ends, he must not only be a Knave and a Hypocrite, but a downright Atheist: So that after all, it will be very difficult to conceive, that so wicked a Man should really, at bottom, have more Concern for one Denomination of Christians than another;

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for if we may judge of Men by their Actions, he seems as well to have extinguish'd all Light of natural Religion, as to have set at Defiance, and trampled under foot the very Moral and Precepts of reveal'd.

He finishes this Scene of *Cromwell*, by telling us how formidable he was to his Neighbours abroad. This he does not only to do Honour to that favourite Tyrant, but to lessen the Character, and give a mean Opinion of King CHARLES II. Upon this Account, he tells the following Story: That King CHARLES upbraiding *Borel*, the *Dutch* Embassador, with his Masters harbouring the *English* Rebels in their Country, was answer'd, that it was a Maxim of their State, to protect all who fled to them. Upon this, the King with some Emotion told him, how in that Respect they had us'd himself and his Brothers, at the Instance of *Cromwell*. Upon which, the poor simple *Dutch* Man reply'd, p. 81. " Ah Sire ! c'etoit une autre chose ; "
Cromwell etoit un Grand Homme, &
 " il se faisoit craindre & par Terre & par
 " Mer. *This was rough. The King's Answer*
 " was, Je me ferai craindre aussi a mon
 " Tour. *But he was scarce so good as his*
 " *Word.*" This is a sly and invidious Reflection on the Weakness of King CHARLES. But the Author very well knew the true
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Reason why that Prince was not as good as his Word upon that Occasion: This was owing to the Friends of the good Bishop, who rais'd such a Clamour against the *Dutch* War, encourag'd the Enemy by their Seditions at home, constantly gave them Intelligence, and with *English* Pilots conducted them into our Harbours, to burn and destroy the Fleet of their own Country. Such is the Inconsistency of this Man, who has all along condemn'd the Court of *England* for making that War at all, tho' now he lays hold on this Occasion to insult King CHARLES, and render him little; for not making his Enemies less. He now ridicules him for not humbling that Commonwealth, by reducing their naval Power, and destroying their Fleets, when another time he condemns him for taking one of their Busses.

AND now he approaches the Restoration, a Blessing that sticks in his Gizzard, at which not daring openly to repine, he vents all his Spleen on the happy Instrument of that glorious Revolution; for after having enumerated all the previous Steps that were taken in that Affair, the Conduct and Management of which he very much magnifies, without naming the only Person who could possibly have concerted those Matters, at last he plainly tells

us, p. 87. *This was manag'd with great Diligence and Skill, and by this Conduct it was that the great Turn was brought about without the least Tumult or Bloodshed, which was beyond what any Person could have imagin'd. Of all this Monk had both the Praise and the Reward, tho' I have been told a very small Share of it belong'd to him. The Disingenuity, Partiality, and Malice of this Assertion are so very visible, that I need not take any Pains to convince the Reader; every Man in England, who can read, is a competent Judge of this Matter. For farther Satisfaction, I refer him to the Life of that great Man lately publish'd. This is so very absurd, that the Author might as well have deny'd that there ever was such a Man as General Monk, as to say that he was not the immediate Instrument in the Restoration. I shall only just tell the Reader, that the very Nature of the thing bespeaks itself; for, as it was the Army that was the only Obstacle to the Nation's Settlement and Happiness, there was nothing to be done, but, by modelling that Body of Men, make them subservient to those very Ends which none besides themselves could impeach. This was manag'd with so great Address and Prudence in Scotland, that the Sectaries, and rigid Republicans, were by degrees cashier'd, and more moderate*

erate Men substituted in their Places. This could be done by none but the General himself, who had at that time the absolute Command in *Scotland*. This enabled that great Man to march into *England*, and to pursue his Design of making the military Power subservient to the Civil, a Declaration so plausible and popular, as to meet with universal Reception. His Address afterwards, in perswading the Rump Parliament to dislodge the disaffected Troops at *London*, and send them into remoter Quarters, to make room for his own, on whom he could depend, enabled him to execute any Design he might have afterwards. No Body can imagine that at this time, notwithstanding his constant Affection to the King, and the good Blood in his Veins, that he could be so sanguine as to entertain any great Hopes, or form any Design of a Restoration. However, by these previous Methods he had put himself into a Condition, upon the unexpected Incidents which fell out afterward, to strike in with the Torrent of the people's Inclinations, and gratify his own, by compassing that stupendous Change, of which we have seen the illustrious Author treated with such base Ingratitude, by the most unjust and partial of Writers, who had too mortal an Aversion to the King, and the royal Family, ever to

forgive the propitious Instrument of their Restoration.

THE Author could not but have consider'd, that without this great Event he had never been Bishop of *Salisbury*. As this Reflection is so obvious, it is very plain that his Malice and Resentment were the strongest of his Passions, so as, when it came to a Competition, even to transcend his Ambition and Avarice. If the Restoration had not happen'd, the Author would have had less Guilt with less Preferment. A more obscure and meaner Scene of Life, a Country Cure of 8 or 900 Marks *per Annum* in *Scotland*, could not have furnish'd him with Opportunity and Materials to have done much Mischief: The making Feuds in so narrow a Circle as private Families; or, at most, now and then setting a General-Assembly together by the Ears, would have been the highest Stretch of his Ambition and Politicks. As this would have been all that he could possibly have done in such Circumstances, to have gratify'd his turbulent Temper, it would have been less fatal than what we have seen him perform; his blowing the Coals of Sedition in the Reign of King CHARLES II. his intriguing in Courts, and disturbing the publick Repose of Nations.

BEFORE

BEFORE he comes to the Restoration, he would give us an Account why the Republicans and Sectaries, at this Crisis, made so little Opposition to a Turn of State which must infallibly be their Ruin: Of which he says thus, p. 87. "*Enthusiasm was now languid; for that owing its mechanical Force to the Liveliness of the Blood and Spirits, Men in Disorder, and depress'd, could not raise in themselves those Heats with which they were wont to transport both themselves and others.* If this Philosophy be true, I would ask one Question, why the French Prophets in our Days, and his own mad Countrymen in Forty-one, when they had some extraordinary Gambols to play in the Pulpit, to heighten their Enthusiasm, and to enable them to shew a greater Effusion of Spirit, always prepar'd their Bodies by fasting, which must depauperate the Blood, and consequently lessen the Quantity of Spirits? The constant Success of this Method at that Time seems to contradict the learned Author's mechanical Solution of Enthusiasm.

HE is very angry that King CHARLES was not bound Hand and Foot, p. 88. *Such Unanimity appear'd in their Proceedings, that there was not the least Dispute among them, but upon one single*

Point; yet that was a very important one. Hale, afterwards the famous Chief Justice, mov'd that a Committee might be appointed to look into the Propositions that had been made, and the Concessions that had been offer'd by the late King, during the War, particularly at the Treaty of Newport; that from thence they might digest such Propositions as they should think fit to be sent over to the King. In the next Page, he says, to the King's coming in without Conditions, may be well imputed all the Errors of his Reign. It is no Wonder that this Proposal should come from a Person, who, with all his Sanctity made no Scruple to sit as one of Cromwell's Judges, and sentence his Fellow-Subjects to Death, by a Commission from a Tyrant, who had murder'd his Prince, and by Violence had made himself Master of his Country. But where was the Necessity of thus fettering CHARLES II. more than any of his Predecessors at their Accession to the Throne? An Act of Oblivion having cover'd all that was past, at this time, the Case was the same, as if there never had been any Troubles, or Civil Wars, and the King had succeeded peaceably upon a natural Demise of his Father. If the Treaty at the Isle of Wight was to have been the Basis of the new *Pacta Conventa* with the King, he had better have staid where he was, and

and wanted a Dinner at *Brussels*, than have accepted a Crown on such wretched Conditions; Conditions so inhuman, as made little Difference between the Commissioners at *Newport*, and the King's Judges in *Westminster-Hall*. The first would have stript him of every Prerogative, after they had rob'd him of what was more dear, his Honour and Conscience. The Regicides, indeed, acted more barefac'd, with greater Impudence, but less Hypocrisy. The one would have made him too wretched to live with common Comfort, while the other more kindly put an end to his Pain.





REMARKS

Historical and Critical :

BOOK II.

HE begins this Book with another Stroak at Dr. *Sharp* ; no Pause or Interruption can make him forget his Malice. P. 92. *As soon as it was fix'd that the King was to be restor'd, a great many went over to make their Court. Among these, Sharp, who was employ'd by the Resolutioners, was one. P. ibid. As he had observ'd very carefully the Success of Monk's solemn Protestations against the King, and for a Commonwealth, it seems, he was so pleas'd with the Original, that he was resolv'd to copy after it, without letting himself be diverted with Scruples ; for he stuck neither at solemn Protestations,*

REMARKS on Bp. Burnet. 75

ons, both by Word of Mouth and by Letters (of which I have seen many Proofs) nor at Appeals to God of his Sincerity in acting for the Presbyterians, both in Prayers, and on other Occasions, joining with these many dreadful Imprecations on himself, if he prevaricated.

HERE the Author lays about him like a Dragon, and kills two Birds with one Stone. This is a most terrible Charge of Hypocrisy, Dissimulation, and Perjury, both on the General, and the Doctor. We will first put the Affair of General *Monk* in a true Light. If this great Man was the Villain which he represents, it must be for restoring the King; and consequently the Action itself be evil. This he has not had the Assurance yet positively to affirm, except it is to be found in the Sheets, which the Prudence of his Executors have thought unfit to see the Light, notwithstanding their Protestations to the Publick, that the Copy is perfect; a Piece of Disingenuity which cannot be justified; for whatever they have ras'd, or omitted, since the Death of the Author, can be no Act of his, and consequently the Copy not genuine. But to return from this Digression: When General *Monk* came to *London*, the Parliament was under a Violence from the Army, who long before had secluded the greatest and noblest Part
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of their Members, whom they kept by Force from the House; nor were they restrain'd within any Bounds of Duty and Submission to the *Rump*, whom they had lately insulted before. This had occasion'd the General's March with his Troops from *Scotland*, according to his Declaration of making the Military Power subservient to the Civil. On the Performance of this Promise, the seclused Members most strenuously insisted, by urging that his Declaration could not be made good, but by their Re-admission, who were the most considerable Part of the same Parliament, for whom he had declar'd, and had been ejected by a military Violence. Upon which, to put an End to these Confusions, at the repeated Requests of the City, a Majority of the Parliament, the Nobility and Gentry; in short, to comply with the Voice of the People, he consented that the seclused Members should take their Seats again; which was the only Method to restore the Dignity of Parliament, and the Face of an House, whose Honour had been so prostituted by the Violence and ill Conduct of the *Rump*, who were now grown so very scandalous, that they were not more hated, than universally despis'd by the People. The seclused Members dissolv'd themselves, after having issu'd out Writs to call a Convention, which Convention restor'd the King
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and the ancient Government. Now after this, where was the great Treachery in General *Monk*, who obey'd them as long as they had the Power, even in their most violent Commands ? After they had by a voluntary Act determin'd their own Authority, there was an End of the Commonwealth. So that the General, as well as others, was at an intire Liberty to enter into any new Scheme in the following Convention, which might be most conducive to the publick Good, and the Inclinations of the People. As to his Transactions with the King and his Friends, they were all negotiated, after that the Persons, to whom he could possibly lye under any seeming Obligation of Fidelity on Account of his Commission, had voluntarily divested themselves of their Power, and were now no more. All these scandalous Insinuations of General *Monk*, he has borrow'd from *Ludlow's* Memoirs : Never were two Historians better match'd than *Burnet* and *Ludlow*, that Miscreant who declares it an Honour to have been one of the King's Judges.

WE will now return to Dr. *Sharp*, against whom the Author's Invectives are equally unjust. It is true, he was a *Presbyterian*, when there was no better a Religion in his Country, and an Agent to the
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the moderate Party of that Persuasion, to whom he was faithful, while he was employ'd and intrusted by them; but it does not follow from thence, that a Man may not change his Opinion about Church-Government: But he betray'd no Body; for in the Year 1660, long before Episcopacy was resettled in *Scotland*, he had quitted his Agency, resign'd his Trust, and had no more to do with them: So that he was free, when the Legislature thought fit to change the Government of the Church, to accept a Bishoprick, which Trust he discharg'd with Honour and Fidelity, with a Piety not inferior to the Dignity of his Station, which he eminently fill'd, adorn'd, and supported by a zealous Attachment to the Service of those Altars he had sworn to defend.

If the Reader would see the Reverse of this Picture, let him look upon the Author, who has thus revil'd this good Prelate. This unhappy Man, tho' a *Presbyterian* in his Heart, if of any Religion, accepted a Bishoprick, without ever changing his Principles or Opinion, and made no Scruple of Conscience to enjoy the Revenues of that Church, whose Discipline he dislik'd, whose Faith he oppungn'd, whose Interests he would have betray'd, and given up to her Schismatics, while at the same time he was eating her Bread: This is the Man, who
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is so very angry with Dr. *Sharp*, for accepting the Arch-Bishoprick of St. *Andrews*. If such a Change should have happen'd in *England*; if the Legislature should have thought fit, in his Time, to have reduc'd the Form and Discipline of the Church of *England* to that of *Geneva*, there is no Body can doubt, but he would soon have forgot his tall *Steeple* at *Salisbury*; and, allowing the same Revenue, with greater Pleasure and Vehemence have thump'd a Cushion in that Congregation, we now call a Conventicle.

THE Bishop has no sooner open'd the Scene of the Restoration, which he calls august and splendid, but he immediately spoils his Compliment, by endeavouring to paint those happy Days in the blackest Colours: He furiously falls foul on the Licentiousness of the Court, which, he says, open'd a Door to all Impiety and Irreligion; P. 92. *With the Restoration of the King, a Spirit of extravagant Joy spread over the Nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very Professions of Virtue and Piety: All ended in Entertainments and Drunkenness, which over-run the three Kingdoms to such a Degree, that it very much corrupted all their Morals. Under the Colour of drinking the King's Health, there were great Disorders, and much*

much Riot every where. And the Pretences of Religion, both in those of the hypocritical Sort, and of the more honest, but no less pernicious Enthusiasts, gave great Advantages, as well as they furnish'd much Matter, to the prophane Mockers of true Piety. Those, who had been concern'd in the former Transactions, thought they could not redeem themselves from the Censures and Jealousies that those brought on them, by any Method, that was more sure and more easy, than by going into the Stream, and laughing at all Religion; telling or making Stories to expose both themselves and their Party as impious and ridiculous.

IN this malicious Paragraph, the Author gives us another Sketch of his Knowledge. If he had read our Histories, he would have found that Drunkenness was no new Vice in *England* at the Restoration, but much more common among our Ancestors than ourselves, being introduc'd by the *Danes*, who first debauch'd the *Saxons*, till that Time, in respect to Drinking, a temperate People. The *Normans*, who had liv'd a little nearer the Sun, gave a Check for a Time to this ill Habit; but being so few in Number, they soon became *English*, and contracted this National Vice of Drinking. This was increas'd by the Manner of Living: The universal Hospitality and open House-keeping, in which the whole

whole Income of their Estates was spent on their Tables, must put them under a more frequent Temptation of Sotting, and furnish a constant Scene of Intemperance; while the Nobility and Gentry, who always liv'd in the Country, for want of Books and Learning in those Ages, had no other Amusements but their Hawks and Hounds, which Diversions too frequently end in a hearty Debauch. This continued to the Time of King CHARLES I. when that excellent Prince, who was a Pattern of Temperance himself, endeavour'd by his Example and Countenance to cultivate that Virtue in his People; to which end, he introduc'd first into *England*, a Love of the nobler Sciences, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Musick; by which more refin'd Amusements he endeavour'd to polish his Subjects, and give them a finer Taste of more innocent and delicate Pleasures; in order to which, he had made a noble Collection of Paintings, Statues, &c. These Curiosities, after the Murder of that good King, were sold, by his Hangmen, to all the Princes of *Europe*; while these sower and morose Fanatics, as they were Enemies to every thing that was generous, destroy'd with the King all innocent Diversions, and introduc'd a Pharisaical Reformation of Manners, which was all at the Bottom, Grimace and Hypocrisy; for

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the Saints, tho' they would not openly drink, always were thirsty when alone in a Corner; nor made they less Scruple in private to embrace the Woman, whom they would not salute in publick. During the Reign of these sanctified Hypocrites, there was a counterfeit Air of Sobriety, the Loss of which our Author laments, and is so unreasonably peevish, as to blame the poor Cavaliers for being transported with Joy, at their Redemption from a Slavery of nineteen Years, more cruel than an *Egyptian* Bondage: But it is no Wonder, that he repin'd at the Joy of others for a Blessing, in which the poor Man himself had no Share, for want of good Principles; and consequently took no Part.

THE Irreligion and Impiety, of which he pretends to complain, must be ascrib'd to deeper Causes. There is no doubt but the Hypocrisy of the preceding Times, in which the Pulpit was so prostituted, and the most villainous Actions cover'd over with the Veil of Piety, had startled some People, and given Impressions very disadvantageous to the Cause of Religion; for it is certain, that the Conduct of our spiritual Guides has the most extended Influence; the ill Example of one bad Clergyman will do more Mischief than a thousand Sermons can repair: And I firmly believe,

lieve, if such a thing could be prov'd, that the personal Conduct of our very Author, thro, the whole Train of his Life, not to mention his late dreadful Appeal to God Almighty, has shock'd the Faith of more People, and given a greater Blow to Religion, than any ten Men in *England* besides. His preaching and unpreaching the same Doctrines, as his Interest guided; his frequent Change of Sides; his abject Flattery of the Living, and his outrageous abusing the same Men when dead, must make one conclude, that he had no great Sense of Religion. Such an Example on weak Minds, who may have an Opinion of the Man, will make very great Impressions, while the Vices of the most dissolute Courts as they are natural to Flesh and Blood, and only gratify our Senses, affect more the Manners and Conduct of Life, than the Faith and Reason of Men, in the speculative Points of Religion.

He now proceeds to the Character of CHARLES II. which is not more absurd than ridiculous, so as to make the Reader, tho' it was otherwise meant, rather laugh than be angry. P. 93. *The King was then thirty Years of Age, and, as might have been suppos'd, past the Levities of Youth, and the Extravagance of Pleasure. He had a very good Understanding; he knew*
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well the State of Affairs both at home and abroad; he had a softness of Temper, which charm'd all that came near him, till they found how little they could depend on good Looks and fair Promises, in which he was liberal to excess; because he intended nothing by them, but to get rid of Importunities, and silence all further upon him. He seem'd to have no Sense of Religion. both at Prayers and Sacrament; he, as it were, took care to satisfy People he was in no sort concern'd in that about which he was employ'd: So that he was far from being an Hypocrite, unless his assisting at those Performances was a sort of Hypocrisy; (as no doubt it was) but he was sure not to increase that by any Appearance of Religion. He said once to myself, that he was no Atheist; but he could not think that God would make a Man miserable for taking a little Pleasure out of the way. He disguised his Popery to the last. He often said, he thought Government was a much easier thing where the Authority was thought infallible, and the Faith and Submission of the People was implicit. He understood Navigation well; but, above all, knew the Architecture of Ships so perfectly, that in that respect, he was exact more than became a Prince. Here are in this Character almost as many Inconsistencies as Lines. The Weakness and greatest Vice of King
CHARLES

CHARLES, is known to be his Love of Women; he was now in the Meridian of his Life, in the Flower of his Age, Strength, and Vigour, when the Doctor declares him to be too old not to be past those Pleasures. This Suggestion is stranger in coming from our Author, than any other ordinary Man; it being generally known, that Dr. Burnet himself had so good a Constitution, as to retain his Greenness and Vigour to double that Age; and if Fame is no Liar in that respect, kept still a Colt's Tooth, with the Mark in his Mouth, beyond his great Climacterick. The next Inconsistency is equally remarkable. He says, that this Prince was liberal to excess of his Promises, to get rid of Importunities, and silence all farther pressing upon him. This is the oddest way of attaining that End, as I believe, was ever yet known: I should rather have thought, that a flat Denial at first, would have been a much better way to have prevented farther Importunity, than, by giving a Promise, entitle the Party to demand the Performance, and renew his Attacks the next Day, Tho' the Author seems to value himself upon writing Characters, as the finest Part of his History, I must affirm to the contrary, it was none of his Talent. Instead of those beautiful Antitheses, *sui profusus, alieni appetens*, which we find in *Salust*, and some other of the Ancients; when he affects that way of writing,

for want of Judgment, and a distinguishing Knowledge of humane Nature, he often grows absurd, and falls into Paradoxes and Self-contradictions. This is manifest in his Character of this King, whom he always represents in a different Light; in one Place makes him so lazy and indolent, as to prefer his Pleasures to all other Regards; in another, so zealous for the Church of *Rome*, as to be ready to sacrifice his own, and the Quiet of his People, to the Interest of that Religion; sometimes an Atheist, with Popery in his Belly; and sometimes a Bigot, with no Religion. When he tells us, that King CHARLES understood the building of Ships better than became a Prince, we can by no means agree with his Sentiments: The Knowledge of so noble a Branch of the Mathematicks, as the Construction of Ships, which we call Naval Architecture, is no more below the greatest of Kings, than Philosophers; a Science, that would have added to the Wisdom of *Solomon*; and, consequently, not unbecoming a King of *England*, whose only true Greatness depends on his Fleets; and the Goodness of his Ships, as well as their Number. As for the Conversation between him and the King, if it be true, it is a certain Sign, that good-humour'd Prince, when he told him that he could not think God Almighty would make a Man miserable for taking a little Pleasure out of the way,

way, knew something of our Author, and believ'd him inclin'd that way as well as himself; otherwise he was too well bred to have said so shocking a thing to any Clergyman of known Piety, his *Sancrofts, Kens, Fells, &c.* or indeed to any Priest, whose Character deserv'd to be treated with more Respect.

THERE are the same Inconsistencies in his other Characters, all which to disprove would be endless, and swell the Bulk of this Volume to that of his own; since all are dead who could contradict and confute him, we must leave the Judgment of these Men to common Fame, and Tradition, which is much more authentick than any Affirmation of this Author. I shall therefore at present criticise no more, but do Justice to the Reputation of the Injur'd.

P. 98, he now falls foul again upon the Duke of *Albemarle*, to whom he gives no more Quarter, than to General *Monk*. He says, *He was ravenous, as well as his Wife, who was a mean contemptible Creature. They both ask'd and sold all that was within their Reach, nothing being deny'd them for some time; till he became so useless, that little personal Regard could be paid him. But the King maintain'd still the Appearances of it; for the Appearance of the Service*

he did him was such, that the King thought it fit to treat him with great Distinction, even after he saw into him, and despised him. He took care to raise his Kinsman Greenvill, who was made Earl of Bath and Groom of the Stole, a Man who thought of nothing but getting and spending Money. Here the Author gives the Reins to his Fury; and, by a Superfetation of Malice, utters as many Untruths, as Sentences. How doth this Character agree with the known Story of this great Man, who absolutely refused the unlimited Conditions offer'd by his Prince, when he had it in his Power to have impos'd what he pleas'd? How comes he to know that the Respect which was paid him was only Appearance? The King never told him so, nor any Body else; otherwise he would have produc'd his Author. If we can believe Dr. Skinner, a Person of irreproachable Credit, the King not only treated him with those Marks of Distinction which Gratitude could inspire, but with a kind of filial Respect to the very last.

THE *Dutch Wars*, in which the Duke of *Albemarle* acquir'd so much Glory, ended not long before his Death: So that the King employ'd him in his Service to the last. And when he could pay no more Honours to the Living, testify'd his Veneration for the Dead, by giving him more than regal Oble-

Obsequies, at which the whole Government, except himself, which the Dignity of his Rank would not permit, assisted as Mourners. The Court, the Tribunals, and all Persons of Distinction, in every Post, follow'd him to the Grave; and, with a magnificent Pomp of Sorrow, mixt his Ashes with those of Princes; nothing being more just, than that the Man, who had rescu'd the Liberties, who had fixt the Repose of Nations, and restor'd the Monarchy of *England*, should rest himself at last in the Bosom of her Kings.

AFTER this Usage of the Duke of *Albemarle*, it is no great Wonder if he treats my Lord of *Bath* with the same ill Manners and Injustice. That Nobleman had too immediate a Hand in the Restoration, not to feel some Marks of the Author's Resentment. But the Character he gives of him is as wrong as the Matter of Fact, when he says. *That Monk made the Fortune of his Kinsman* *Greenvil*. One might have thought that the Author, who was at Court at this time before he was seventeen Years of Age, might probably have heard, that Sir *John Granvil* had a Warrant in his Pocket, sign'd at *Brussels*, to be made an Earl of *England*, Groom of the Stole, with a Pension of 3000*.l.* per *Annum*, to indemnify his Family for the Debts contracted in the Service of the Crown,

Crown, some Months before that King CHARLES ever saw the Face of General Monk. By this Mistake we may see how little we can rely on the Truth of what he says, even in Things of no great Consequence: He seems to write at random; and, when he knows nothing of a Matter, ventures to say any thing: What his Ignorance cannot furnish, his fertile Malice supplies.

AFTER having given the Characters of the Court in *England*, he proceeds to those of the Ministers in *Scotland*, whom he paints in such Colours, as if he design'd to raise the Horror of his Reader; who will find, by what he says hereafter, an astonishing Account of his Country. By his own Description, he makes the Presbyterians Enthusiasts and Madmen, irreclaimable by Mercy, and incorrigible by Justice. So that if the other Side, the Episcopal Party, and those in the Administration, were such Monsters and Tyrants as he represents them, he has not left room for one honest Man in the Country.

AMONG the Ministers of *Scotland*, he treats his old Patron, Duke *Lauderdale*, to whom all the World believ'd that he ow'd great Obligations, with manifest Ingratitude and Barbarity, p. 101. *I knew him very particularly. He made a very ill Appearance; he*

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was very big ; his Hair red, hanging oddly about him ; his Tongue was too big for his Mouth, which made him bedew all that he spoke to. Tho' this should be true, it is mean and pitiful, below the Dignity of History, to insult a Man for personal Defects, which he cannot help, without an absolute Necessity of illustrating some Event in the Story. But why should we expect Generosity in a Man, who wanted all other Virtues?

BUT in all his *Scotch* Characters, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* bears the greatest Load. The Reader is desir'd to take notice, that tho' he mentions this Prelate five times more than any Man else, he never gives him his Title. He treats all others, whom he did not love, with the same Familiarity. As no Body would know the Person he calls *Sharp*, to be Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, if he was not otherwise inform'd ; so the Duke of *Albemarle* is call'd plain *Monk* to his dying Day. But he uses more Ceremony with his Friends. Always Earl of *Clarendon*, even before he was created ; always Earl of *Essex* ; always Lord *Russel* &c. This being his constant Practice, it is impossible it should proceed from Chance or Negligence. Tho' this is no capital Fault in the Historian, it is shocking to good Manners, and shews too much of the Clown in the Gentleman and the Prelate. I have only mention-

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ed this Matter, to let the World see the little Malice, and Meanness of Soul in the Man, who could not find in his Heart to treat his Superiors, when Enemies, with that common Respect which was due to their Quality.

P. 104. *I now turn to another Set of Men, of whom the Earls of Middleton and Glencairn were the chief. They were follow'd by the Herd of the Cavalier Party, who were now very fierce, and full of Courage in their Cups, tho' they had been very discreet Managers of it in the Field, and in time of Action.* By this Reflection, the Reader may see how Disingenuity is essential to his very Nature, so as never to let him speak well, or do any manner of Justice to his Enemies. In this Assertion, the want of Judgment in the Man is as evident as his Malice, in affirming a thing, in which every one, he was sure, must contradict him. The Victories of my Lord Montross were no less notorious than astonishing, and not to be parallel'd in History. Without Garrisons, Magazines, Arms, Ammunition, or Money, how often did that great Man most shamefully defeat the numerous Armies of the Covenanters, when they exceeded him above three to one, with all those Advantages which he wanted? If this Success was not owing to the personal Courage of his Troops, we must look for some

some hidden Cause, and renew the Belief of Miracles.

P. 134. he entertains us with a most wonderful Character of Bishop *Leighton*, as he has done in another Place with that of Sir *Robert Murray*; of both which Persons he gives us Ideas that seem a little Romantick. I am very much afraid there must be some Grains of Allowance for this good Bishop, whom all together he has made but an odd sort of a Man; tho' I am very apt to believe, that the Author has put some of his own Sentiments into his Mouth, when he makes him so dissatisfied with the Conduct of his Superiors, which is a little seditious, and unbecoming so mortify'd a Man: His Contempt of his Brethren, and Colleagues, was inconsistent with that true Humility so absolutely essential to the Saint, and must proceed from a spiritual Pride at the Bottom of the Heart; for no Man has a mean Opinion of another, but from a firm Belief of a superior Merit in himself. But it is Pity to spoil these imaginary Pieces; so I will only congratulate our Island, in having the Honour to produce two such extraordinary Persons; who, in one respect, are a little unfortunate to fall into no better Hands, and have such egregious Virtues transmitted to Posterity by no other Pen, but that of our Author, who happens to stand so ill in the
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Opinion of the World, as to be rank'd with one Sort of Men, who are never believ'd, even when they speak Truth.

P. 156, speaking of Dr. *Sharp* in his usual way, he has this extraordinary Reflection: *Yet this was suitable enough to a Maxim, that he, and all that Sort of People set up; that the Execution of Laws was that by which all Government maintain'd their Strength, as well as their Honour.* Whatever may be the Sentiments of the learned Author, as to the Truth of this Maxim, I believe the Generality of the World will join in Opinion with the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*.

P. 161, Speaking of the Fanatick Army, that was now to be disbanded, he seems unwilling to part with them, and gives them this Character: *They were certainly the bravest, the best disciplin'd, and the soberest Army, that had been known in the latter Ages.* Or indeed in any before; and, it is to be hop'd will never be known again, being generally Anabaptists, Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and the wildest of the Sectaries. Their Bravery was no true Courage, resulting from a Principle of Honour, and a virtuous Fear of Infamy; but downright Fury and Enthusiasm, actuated by a false Spirit of Religion. Their Sobriety was Hypocrisy; for tho' they would

would not publickly seem to debauch, they would get heartily drunk in private; especially when they broke into the Cellars of the poor Cavaliers. And, as for the Piety of those Saints, they made no Scruple to pillage Altars, and drag the Orthodox Clergy from their Pulpits, beat, and wound them to Death, while they call'd the Plunder of the Royalists the Spoils of the Ungodly, and the Heritage of the Lord; of all which Barbarities whole Volumes have been written, with Time, Place, Names, and Circumstances, to put the Truth of this Matter out of dispute: Such were the Men, for whom our Author seems to have so great a Veneration.

IN the next Page, the good Bishop astonishes the Reader, by an Insinuation, as if there were too much Severity us'd towards the Regicides. We will see his own Words, for fear of being tax'd with Misrepresentation. *The Trial and Execution of the first who suffer'd, were run to by vast Crowds, and all People were pleas'd with the Sight; yet the Odiousness of the Crime grew at last to be so much flatned by the frequent Executions, and most of those who suffer'd dy'd with much Firmness and Shew of Piety, justifying all that they had done, not without a seeming Joy for their Sufferings on that Account that the King was advis'd not to proceed farther.* This pretended Effect of these
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Executions, seems to be the Author's own Invention, nothing being more absurd and unnatural, than to imagine, that such Monsters, condemn'd for so atrocious a Crime, as had fill'd Mankind with Horror, should touch the Compassion of the Spectator, by such an Aggravation of their Guilt, in so harden'd an Impenitence. But what is more unaccountable, is to guess what the means by the frequent Executions, when, out of so great a Number as were in the Commission to try the King, and of whom sixty-six assented to the Judgment, by rising from their Seats when Sentence was given, no more than ten were made Objects of human Vengeance; a Lenity, or rather Indolence, which very much lessen'd King CHARLES in the Opinion of the World, both at Home and Abroad. This the Author would insinuate to be Severity in the King, while his Friends on the other Side call this Conduct, in sparing so many, a Cruelty to himself and Family, as well as an Injustice to the Manes of his injur'd Father, whose Blood cry'd so loud for Vengeance.

SPEAKING of *Harrison*, he gives this Account of the Man: *P. ibid.* *Harrison was the first that suffer'd; he was a fierce and bloody Enthusiast: And it was believ'd, while the Army was in doubt, whether it was fitter to kill the King privately, or bring*

bring him to an open Trial, that he offer'd, if a private Way was settled on, to be the Man who should do it ; but however reasonable this might be in it self, it had a very ill Effect. After this Character of the Man, with all his Rhetorick, he paints him in the most shining Colours, extolls his Firmness, Resolution, and Magnanimity ; and, not without seeming Sentiments of Tenderness, calls Enthusiasm, Calmness ; and Intoxication with spirituous Liquors, Chearfulness ; for the printed Accounts at this Time inform us, that not only *Hugh Peters*, who was so downright drunk as to appear a Changeling, but *Harrison* and *Carew* had drunk Brandy, or some such Liquors, the Morning of their Execution, which gave them that Insensibility of their Danger, which our Author so much admires ; otherwise, we should find in him some Mark of Disgust or Resentment. It is true, a Christian Pity might be extended to his Blindness ; but then at the same time, he should have condemn'd his Hardness of Heart and Impenitence. This he should have done, to take away a Surmise, which will naturally arise in some uncharitable People, that the Author tacitly in his Mind, imputed this extraordinary Behaviour to some supernatural Assistance, and the Goodness of the Cause for which they suffer'd. To this Suspicion, he gives some manner of Handle,

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by a pompous Description of the Hero, instead of the Regicide.

P. 163. *The putting Sir Harry Vane to Death, was as much blam'd ; for the Declaration from Breda being full, for an Indemnity to all, except the Regicides, he was comprehended in that ——— An Address was made by both Houses in his Behalf, to which the King gave a favourable Answer, tho' in general Words : So that he reckon'd that he was safe, that being an Equivalent to an Act of Parliament, tho' it wanted the necessary Forms.* In this Account, which is design'd purposely to reflect on the Honour of King CHARLES, there is one positive Untruth, one very great Mistake, besides his constant Disingenuity in concealing part of the Story. In the first place, the Declaration from *Breda* makes no mention of the Regicides, or any Body else, but leaves the Exceptions entirely to the Parliament, in whose List of the Excepted, Sir *Harry Vane* and *Lambert* were particularly included. That a favourable Answer from the King in general Words, to either, or both Houses, is equivalent to an Act of Parliament, is an Opinion, to which few Lawyers will subscribe. But the Author thinks not fit to tell the Reader, that tho' the Convention, who had excepted this Gentleman out of the Act of Indemnity, afterwards interpos'd for Mercy ;
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and, as he says, receiv'd a favourable Answer in general Words ; nevertheless the succeeding and truer Representation of the People, being a Parliament in all its Forms, thought fit, when that Matter was resum'd, to abandon him to Justice, and address'd the King, to bring *Vane* and *Lambert* to their Trials : So that being under no Obligation from his prior Answer in general Terms, the King was entirely free to hearken to the Voice of his People, and comply with their last Request.

WHEN he gives us an Account of this Gentleman's Behaviour at his Death, he tells us these Particulars, *p. 164.* *He was beheaded on Tower-hill, where a new and very indecent Practice was begun : It was observ'd, that the dying Speeches of the Regicides had left Impressions on the Hearers, that were not at all to the Advantage of the Government ; so Strains of a peculiar Nature, being expected from him, to prevent that, Drummers were plac'd under the Scaffold, who, as soon as he began to speak of the Publick, upon a Sign given, struck up with their Drums. This put him into no Disorder. He desir'd they might be stopt ; for he understood what was meant by it. Then he went thro' his Devotions ; and as he was taking leave of those about him, he happening to say somewhat with relation to the Times, the Drums*

struck up a second time ; so he gave over, and died with so much Composedness, that it was generally thought, that the Government lost more than it gain'd by his Death. If the Author had not been of an Opinion, that the Regicides had fully justify'd themselves and the Cause at their Death, he would not so boldly have asserted, that their dying Speeches had made Impressions to the Disadvantage of the Government ; for, naturally speaking, whatever those Miscreants could say, must only affect those of their own Principles, who were already mortal Enemies to the King. But if the Liberty allow'd them was truly so fatal, as he represents, the Administration had more Reason to prevent the like ill Consequences for the future : It must be a sad and helpless Government indeed, that will not take all lawful Precautions to preserve the publick Peace, and prevent the People from being poison'd. But the Relation, which he gives of the Composedness of that unhappy Gentleman, is unanimously contradicted, by some very extravagant Circumstances, in all the printed Accounts that were publish'd at the Time, and which could have been contradicted, if not true, by so many thousand Spectators, as were Witnesses of the Execution. But as these were only Pamphlets, we will have recourse to better Authority : Mr. *Eachard* has written a very large History of these Times, and must be
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suppos'd to have very good Vouchers, for what he affirms positively as Matter of Fact. Let us see then what this Historian says of this Matter. *Eachard* p. 802. *Being brought to the Scaffold on the fourteenth of June, he there run out into such Lectures of Treason and Enthusiasm, that the Sheriffs and the rest, after two or three Warnings, were forc'd to drown them with the Noise of Drums and Trumpets, and were going to take his Papers from him; but he with great Rage and Indignation tore them to pieces, and submitted to the Block in a very discompos'd manner.* I could bring other Relations; but this is authentick; and Mr. *Eachard* is still alive to justify it. After this false and partial Account, I leave the Reader to judge of the Author's Sincerity.

As Dr. **Burnet** was a terrible Enemy, so I must do him the Justice to acknowledge, that he was a very good Friend; and that he took as much Pains to extenuate, and give the best Turn to the Faults of his own Party, as to aggravate the Failings and blacken the Virtues of his Enemies. To shew that I do not wrong the Author in this Charge, it is his own Principle that he has asserted, and it is to himself that I appeal. In his Reflections on the History of *Varillas*, p. 7 and 8, he has

these Words: *An Historian who favours his own Side, is to be forgiven, tho' he puts too much Life in his Colours, when he sets out the best Side of his own Party, and the worst of those from whom he differs; and if he but slightly touches the Failure of his Friends, and severely aggravates those of the other Side, tho' in this he departs from the Laws of an exact Historian; yet the Bias is so natural, that if it lessen the Credit of the Historian, it does not blacken him.* This is contrary to the Opinion of Tully, when he says of an Historian, *Nequid falsi dicere audeat, nequid Veri non audeat.* This Assertion is so astonishing, that I cannot expect the Reader, who has not read his Book on *Varillas*, should believe me, till he sees it with his own Eyes. No doubt can be made, but that the Author has been guided by this Principle in all his Party Writings. Other Men have fallen into this Fault thro' Interest or Malice; but I believe Dr. Burnet is the only Man, who ever had the Forehead to defend it.

ACCORDING to this Principle, to excuse the Chancellor from what has been unanimously laid at his Door, the giving to King CHARLES that cruel Advice, to court his Enemies, and trust to the Principles of his Friends;

Friends; he tells us, p. 165. *To load the Earl of Clarendon the more, it was given out, that he had advis'd the King to gain his Enemies, since he was sure of his Friends by their Principles. With this he was often charg'd, tho' he always deny'd it. Whether the King fasten'd it upon him, after he had disgrac'd him, to make him the more odious, I cannot tell.* Tho' the Author tells us, that the Chancellor constantly deny'd this Charge, we may venture to say, that if Dr. Burnet had truly believ'd him in this Matter, he would not have had so good an Opinion of my Lord Clarendon.

As we feel to this Day the dismal Consequences of those Councils, which were not more wicked, than weak and impolitick, it will be but Justice to the Publick, to endeavour to set that Matter in the clearest Light we can. It is notoriously known, that some of the greatest Republicans, and most furious Enemies to King CHARLES II. and the Constitution in Church and State ever since, were disoblig'd Cavaliers, who sacrific'd Principle to Resentment; a Conduct, which, with Grains of Allowance for Flesh and Blood, without a very great Dispensation of Grace, is not the most unaccountable. The Treatment of the Royal Party at this time, will never find Belief with Posterity. To be neglected was enough; but to see the Enemy

triumph in their Spoils, was more than Nature could support. There are Instances of some, who were admitted to the royal Presence and Favour, without being totally free from the Blood of the King; while they, who had lavish'd their own in his Defence, were suffer'd to starve on the Pavement. The Estates of the *Irish*, who had fought for the King, and follow'd his Fortunes in Exile, were confirm'd to Drummers and Sergeants, who had conducted his Father to the Scaffold. The poor Cavaliers were not only unrewarded, but deny'd their just Debts; even the Repayment of the Money they had lent to the King; while the Round-heads were more than caref'd, and by their Posts and Employments now shar'd the Revenues of that Crown, which they had plunder'd before. There was but one Person who had Credit to give, or Power to support his Advice when given. The Author is pleas'd to tell us, that the King himself declar'd, that the Chancellor was the Man. As he was the best, and, indeed, only Judge of the Matter, we ought in good Manners to believe him. I could have said more on this Subject, if I were not tender of disturbing the Ashes of the Dead; nor would I have said so much, if I had not thought myself oblig'd to disabuse the Living. I could also convict him of the grossest Flattery in some of his other Characters, and spoil the Hero, if I would

I would lessen any Man's good Name at the Expence of the Author's Reputation, which is no Equivalent.

P. 168, he gives a Character of the Duke of York, whom he treats at first with seeming Justice; but it is only to give his Reader a false Impression of his Candor, that he may the more easily be believ'd, when he stabs him to the Heart afterward, by making him the greatest of Villains, and the last of human Race. After having own'd how gracious the Duke was to him, and the repeated Favours which he had receiv'd from that Prince, a Man, who had been capable of blushing, would have been asham'd to have made so barbarous a Return: But is it no Wonder, that he should be without Gratitude, who wanted the Mother of all Virtues, Justice.

THE Account which he gives us of the Marriage with the first Dutchess, is so false in some Circumstances, and so misrepresented in others, as to be easily refuted, if that could be done, without wounding the Honour of some, for whom we have too great Respect, that being as contrary to our Inclinations, as Detraction is a visible Pleasure to the Author of the Book before us.

P. 172, here he is again for exculpating his old Friend, the Earl of *Clarendon*, in the Affair of *Dunkirk*, and laying the Blame, if it was a Crime, on an innocent Man. For he says thus: *The Matter under Debate was, whether it ought to be kept, or sold. The military Men, who were believ'd to be corrupted by France, said the Place was not tenable; that in Time of Peace it would put the King to great Charge, and in Time of War it would not quit the Cost of keeping. The Earl of Clarendon said, that he understood not those Matters, but did appeal to Monk's Judgment; who did positively advise the letting of it go for the Sum that was offer'd.* In this notable Paragraph, I must first observe the Author's ill Will to the military Men, whom he attacks after his usual Manner, in a Parenthesis, (it was believ'd) were corrupted by *France*: But these were hectoring, roaring, and debauch'd Cavaliers, unlike his godly Saints, whom he so admir'd at *Aberdeen*; assuring us that they were gifted Men, who could preach and pray, as well as fight. I must also put the Reader in mind of what I remark'd before: Here, in the same Line, he names the Earl of *Clarendon*, and plain *Monk*; tho' the latter was actually at this Moment Duke of *Albemarle*, and the other only Sir *Edward Hyde*, not being created an Earl till the Coronation, which follow'd some Months after this first De-

Debate. If the Author had thought fit to have treated them both alike, *Hide* would have founded as well as *Monk*; or *Albemarle* as well as *Clarendon*.

As to what he positively affirms, that the Duke of *Albemarle* advis'd the felling of *Dunkirk*, and that the Chancellor had no Hand in that Matter, there is no disproving him at this time of Day: He has taken care to let every Body be dead, who could have contradicted him, before he publish'd his Book; we must therefore go on the Probabilities on the other Side. The Interest of the Chancellor was so great, and his Power so absolute at this time, even by the Author's own Confession, that it is a little difficult to believe, that any thing of very great Consequence could be carry'd contrary to his Inclination, if he had thought fit to have oppos'd it. And as for the Duke of *Albemarle*, whom he has pitch'd upon as the Author of this Advice, he chose the most unlikely Person; it being very well known with what Warmth that Duke oppos'd the Demolition of the Forts and Citadels in *Scotland*, built by *Cromwell*. This would induce us to believe, that the same Person should have had an equal Tendernefs in parting with *Dunkirk*. If he were guilty, he certainly had as good Luck to escape the publick Censure, as my Lord *Clarendon* was
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unfortunate to bear the Blame and Reproach of the whole Nation on that Account. And what remarkably adds to the Injustice of this Treatment, is, that the fine House, which the Chancellor built in *Piccadilly*, was in Derision by the People call'd *Dunkirk-House*, as if built with the Money arising from the Sale of that Place. Nor is it less an Aggravation of this Hardship, that all the while that noble Fabrick continu'd in the Possession of the innocent Person, and his Family, it retain'd that invidious Name; but as soon as it was sold to the guilty Family of *Albemarle*, it was call'd by that Title, which the People, as well as the Crown, thought fit to give to the *Monks*, tho' judg'd unworthy of any Honours by our Author. But what makes this Assertion of Dr. *Burnet* the more suspicious, is, a few Years after, when that great Man was charg'd by the House of Commons with the Affair of *Dunkirk*, that his Innocence was not then clear'd, there being so many Witnesses then alive, who knew the Truth of that Transaction, so as to have been able to have laid the Saddle on the right Horse.

P. 175, he says, that the King, in his Declaration from *Breda*, had promis'd to confirm the Settlement of *Ireland*. This is another Mistake; the Declaration from *Breda* extended only to *England*, and had no regard,

regard to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, of which there is no more Mention, than of *China* or *Japan*.

P. 176, he says, *I have reserv'd the Affairs of the Church last, as those about which I have taken the most Pains to be inform'd, and which I do therefore offer to the Reader with some Assurance, and on which I hope due Reflection will be made.* After this Declaration, of his being so well inform'd, one might expect some Truth. P. *ibid.* *At the Restoration, Juxon, the antientest and most eminent of the former Bishops, who had assisted the late King in his last Hours, was promoted to Canterbury, more out of Decency, than that he was capable to fill that Post; for as he was never a great Divine, he was now superannuated.* Here he begins his Compliments to the Church of *England*, by abusing the first of her Prelates after the Restoration; and not only him, but all the other great Men, who had been so barbarously treated by the Doctor's good Friends in the Time of the great Rebellion; for he plainly tells us, that the Person, whom he calls the most eminent of all, had neither Capacity, or Learning, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*. As he has given us one weak Man, the next in course, according to his Rule, must be a Knave: Let us see therefore what he will say of the Successor. Sheldon

don was esteem'd a learned Man before the Wars; but he was now so deeply engaged in Politicks, that scarce any Prints of what he had been, remain'd. — He was a generous and charitable Man. —

He seem'd not to have a due Sense of Religion, if any at all; and spoke of it most commonly as an Engine of Government, a Matter of Policy. By this means, the King began to look on him as a wise and honest Clergyman.

There is somewhat extraordinary in this noble Character, that the Author gives of this great Prelate. But I imagine, that the Reader will find it difficult to conceive, how a very learned Man, by being engaged in the Business necessary to his Profession, should so soon lose all his Knowledge, so as to have no Prints remain. It will be worth while to enquire a little into these strange Politicks, which had so oblivious a Quality, like the Waters of *Lethe*, to affect the Brain, and make a Man forget all that he had learnt before. The great Rank, which an Archbishop of *Canterbury* holds in the Monarchy of *England*, must necessarily engage him in some Affairs of State, as he is always a Privy Counsellor; but that he was in the Ministry more than his Post oblig'd him, we have no Account. The little time that his Predecessor liv'd after the Restoration, must necessarily leave on his Hands very great Affairs of the Church, which was then but just reset-

refettled ; but that such an Application to that Business should spoil the Divine, and efface all Prints of his former Learning, is somewhat so prodigious, as to be worthy the Remark of our Author ; who indeed seems a little to confirm this Notion by his own Example ; for we have found a very great Difference between the Preacher at the *Rolls*, and the Bishop of *Salisbury* ; who, after he had debbled in Politicks abroad, at *Rome*, *Geneva*, and *Holland*, began to dwindle in his Reputation, and lose the Character he had acquir'd before ; which, as it was greater than he deserv'd and always supported by Dint of Party, should have hinder'd him from publishing these lamentable Memoirs that lie before us ; the which, if he had not been impair'd in his Intellects, he never would have ventur'd on Posterity. But this Description of Archbishop *Sheldon* is all fictitious : As Painters form in their Brain ideal Faces, so our Author draws imaginary Characters. But when he represents this great Man to be atheistical, and that King CHARLES for that very Reason counted him a wise and honest Churchman, the Author confirms to us again how little he understood Nature, and the Passions in Men ; for let King CHARLES be as irreligious as he would have the World believe, there is something so amiable in Virtue and Piety, as to attract an Esteem and Reverence from those
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very Persons who have none themselves. So that, whatever Advantages the Author himself may have reap'd on that Account from some particular Persons, there is no Man of good Sense, that will ever esteem, and think any Clergyman has the more Merit, for not believing in JESUS CHRIST. After all, if this great Prelate had no Religion, he must of consequence have had a great deal of Vanity, to give away so immense a Sum as 66000. *l.* in private Charities, and publick Benefactions, during his own Life, only to acquire a Reputation in this World, without any View or Hopes of Reward in the next. Afterwards, in the same Page, he says, *That Morley was thought the honestest Man of the two, and Sheldon the abler Man.* By this Comparison, in plain *English*, he calls them both Knaves. By this the Reader may be convinc'd of the Respect that the Author bears to the Church of *England*, when he makes no Scruple thus to treat her most illustrious Sons with so much Arrogance and Injustice.

P. 179, he gives us an Account of the Conference in the *Savoy*, about a Comprehension, in which he is infinitely partial to the Dissenters, by giving them the Advantage in every thing; and seems very angry with the Church, for not turning Presbyterian, by giving up all her Characteristicks,
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Discipline, and Ceremonies ; among which, the Cross in Baptism, and kneeling at the Sacrament, were but inconsiderable Trifles: He is not a little displeas'd at their retaining the Apocryphal Scriptures, and seems very much frightened at *Bel* and the *Dragon*.

P. 184, he seems a little dissatisfy'd with the Institution of the 30th of *January*, on which Occasion he thus remarkably expresses himself: *The 30th of January, call'd King CHARLES the Martyr*. It is no Wonder if the Author scruples to give to that Prince the Title of Martyr, when he has taken such Pains, by sly Insinuations, to exculpate the villainous Authors, and lessen the Horror of his Martyrdom.

P. *ibid.* St. Bartholomew's Day was pitch'd on, that if they were then depriv'd, they should lose the Profits of the whole Year: since the Tithes are commonly due at Michaelmas. The Presbyterians remember'd what a St. Bartholomew had been held at Paris ninety Years before, which was the Day of the Massacre, and did not stick to compare one to the other. This is a Flight of his own ; most of the Dissenters were too illiterate and ignorant in the History of Europe, almost to have heard of the thing, especially to be so precise in the Year, and the Day: This is a Note beyond *Ela* ; the Author

thor has exerted himself, and given a sparing Blow to the Church and Parliament of *England*; such a Representation of the People, as has seldom been seen before, or since, within the Walls of *St. Stephen's Chappel*, if we consider the Quality, Fortunes and Interests, in their Countries, of the Persons who compos'd that illustrious Assembly: But without this Consideration, what he arraigns was an Act of Parliament, a Law made by the People in their Legislative Capacity, unanimously and calmly, without any Violence, Tumult, or indirect Means. This our judicious Author compares to the Massacre of *Paris*, a Scene of Horror, which has disgrac'd human Nature; as if the cutting so many thousand innocent Throats, with all the Circumstances of Rage and Barbarity, in cold Blood, could bear any Resemblance with the legal ejecting a Number of unlawful Ministers, most of whom had intruded into other Mens Rights, and like Wolves had leap'd into the Fold. The greatest Part of these Men had been Trumpeters of Sedition, and not only inflam'd, but occasioned the War between the late King and his People. And after they had conquer'd the Crown and the Church, violently drove the Orthodox Ministers from their Livings, by the Help of their ruffianly Red-coats, were instituted and inducted by Corporals and Serjeants, and ow'd their Possession to the
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Halberd instead of the Crozier. These are the People, for whom our Author had so much Tenderness, who might have been sav'd, if they would have comply'd with some innocent Ceremonies, by themselves allow'd to be Things indifferent, and have renounc'd their impious Covenant; which had made them once Rebels before, and oblig'd them to be so again, whenever they should have another Opportunity. I leave the Reader to judge of the Absurdity of this Comparison, which is as profoundly silly, as it is extravagant.

P. 186. *Almost all the Leases of the Church Estates over England were fallen in, there having been no Renewal for twenty Years. The Leases for Years were determin'd, and the Wars had carried off so many Men, that most of the Leases for Lives were fallen into the Incumbents Hands; so that the Church Estates were in them. And the Fines rais'd by renewing of Leases rose to above a Million and half. If the Half had been apply'd for buying of Tithes or Glebes for small Vicarages, here a Foundation had been laid down for a great and effectual Reformation. In some Sees forty or fifty thousand Pounds were rais'd, and apply'd to enriching the Bishops Families. Something was done to Churches and Colleges, in particular to St. Paul's in London; and a noble*

Collection was made for redeeming all the English Slaves in Barbary. But this fell short of what might have been expected. In this the Lord Clarendon was heavily charg'd, as having shew'd, that he was rather the Bishops Friend, than the Church's. It is true, that the Law made these Fines belong to the Incumbents; but such an extraordinary Occasion, deserv'd that a Law should have been made on purpose. What the Bishops did with those Fines, was a Pattern to all the lower Dignitaries, who generally took more Care of themselves than the Church. The Men of Merit and Service were loaded with many Livings, and many Dignities. With this great Accession of Wealth, there broke in upon the Church a great deal of Luxury and high Living, on the Pretence of Hospitality: while others made Purchases, and left great Estates, most of which we have seen melt away. And with this Overset of Wealth and Pomp, that came on Men in the Decline of their Parts and Age; they, who were now growing into old Age, became lazy and negligent in all the true Concerns of the Church: They left Preaching and Writing to others, while they gave themselves up to Ease and Sloth. In all which sad Representation, some few Exceptions are to be made; but so few, that if a new Set of Men had not appear'd of another

ther Stamp, the Church had quite lost her Esteem over the Nation.

SUCH is the Character which this insolent Author gives of the great Men in the Government of the Church at this time; Men, who were not more venerable for their Piety, Charity, and all the Essentials of a good Clergyman, than eminent for their Learning, and other great Qualities; who are as much reverenc'd by all wise and good Men at this Day, as their wicked Detractor is now detested; and will, if possible, be more by Posterity. Take all the Characters together, not only those of the Bishops, but the whole dignify'd Clergy, and he makes them avaritious, luxurious, lazy, and slothful; negligent in the Concerns of the Church, even Knaves and Atheists. As the Church of *England* never, in the same Compass of Time, had the Honour to see her Episcopal Sees so illustriously fill'd, these extraordinary Virtues could not fail to be Objects of Malice in the most unjust and disingenuous of Men, who has express'd in this Paragraph as much Venom, as a visible Want of all Sense of Shame. If the Author had been touch'd with the least Sentiment of Christianity, he would have avoided so heinous and mortal a Sin, as that of wilful and premeditated Detraction, so odious in the Sight of God and Man; he would not

have ventur'd, with a Conscience as fear'd, as his Forehead was harden'd, to have impos'd on the World so gross and palpable a Calumny, in which he was sure to be detected : But as, by prolonging the Publication of his Book, he knew that he should be cover'd in the Grave from feeling the Resentment of the Living, so he absolutely despised whatever might be said of him when dead. Without this Example, it would be hard to conceive, that human Nature could arrive to such a Height of Depravity ; that a Man, without any Temptation of Interest, but only to gratify his Malice, should be so prodigiously stupid, as to be neither concern'd for his Reputation in this World, or his Safety in that to come.

IF any Man should think that I have treated the Author on this Subject with too much Roughness, contrary to my Design, or Inclinations, let him consider the Provocation ; *Responsum, non dictum esse, quia læsit prior.* The Reader, by his own Indignation, may easily conceive how difficult it is, not to feel the warmest Resentment at so barbarous a Treatment of so much Virtue and Merit.

BEFORE we proceed in confuting the Matter of Fact in this Account, we will shew the Reader the Inconsistencies of this very
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Paragraph. He owns, that the Fines, which were rais'd, were the Incumbents Right in Law ; and at the same time blames my Lord *Clarendon*, for not taking them away. This is a fine Doctrine in a Country of Property ! Oh, but a Law should have been made on purpose. A Law, that takes away another Man's undoubted Right, is as unjust as any other Act of Violence. He owns, that these Bishops repair'd Colleges and Churches, especially *St. Paul's* ; that they made a noble Collection to redeem all the *English* Slaves in *Barbary* ; and then seems to wonder what they did with their Money. His Account of the immense Sum rais'd upon Fines, which he makes to amount to a Million and half, must be very much mitigated : He was either very ill inform'd, or, what is more probable, never enquir'd at all into the Matter ; but, according to Custom, gave us his own extravagant Guess. If he had taken the Pains to have been better instructed, he would have known that these Men, whom he so abuses, gave very near five hundred thousand Pounds of this Money to publick Uses ; a Liberality so immense, that when a true Deduction is made from his extravagant Account, will make a very great Hole in any Sum that they could possibly have receiv'd. Bishop *Cousin*, not to mention others, gave the greatest Part of his Fines to those very Uses he mentions, the Augmen-

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tation of small Benefices. *Warner*, with no better a Bishoprick than that of *Rocheſter*, gave no leſs than 59600 *l.* in publick Benefactions; a Munificence ſo aſtoniſhing, ſo vaſt a Charity, as the Doctor and all his Favourites, the Men of another Stamp, would not have given in ſo many Years, if they had poſſeſs'd the Revenues of the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*. It is worth while to enquire what the Author left himſelf at his Death; for he would not part with much, while alive, to ſuch good Uſes. If we may rely on his Will, which is printed, he bequeath'd a little more than 2000 *l.* to found a School in his own Country, to breed up young Presbyterians with the Money of the Church of *England*, to pick out her Eyes, as their Anceſtors had once done before with their *Covenant*. This was not ſo very extraordinary, when we conſider that the See of *Salisbury* is one of the beſt in *England*; and that the good Biſhop ſat in that Chair above twenty-five Years.

His next Charge upon theſe good Men, is what he calls Luxury and High-living, on pretence of Hoſpitality. Tho' the Author condemns this Conduct, I always thought, that Hoſpitality, and feeding the Poor, was one of the chief Ends, for which ſuch great Revenues were given to the Church by the Piety of our Anceſtors. This is a little unjuſt,

just, to blame that Charity, which he had not the Virtue himself to imitate. Nor is he less unreasonable to find fault with the poor old Men, whom he represents, in their Decline, broken with Age and Infirmities, for not preaching so often as himself. That Office was never reputed the chief of the pastoral Care, especially in Men of that Age, whose Memories must be decay'd, and their Strength not sufficient to bear the Fatigue of a long Discourse: It is not every Body's good Fortune to have the Lungs and the Wind of Dr. **Burnet**, with the Strength of a Porter, instead of a Gentleman.

THEIR leaving such Estates to their Families, after their expensive Living; their great Benefactions and Charge in repairing their Churches, dilapidated by Time, and the Sacrilege of Forty-one, must shew them to be very great Oeconomists. But his Observation, that these Estates melted away, as being very ill gotten, is not a little diverting, in an Author, who gives us the first Instance of his having any Religion at all, by this childish and weak Superstition. If what he says is true, these Men had certainly a very great Art while they were squandering their Revenues in a riotous Hospitality, to be able to perform such great things. Thus he makes them scraping and luxurious, prodigal and miserable, at the same Time.

IF

If the Author had been pleas'd to have given us an Account what great Charities were dispenc'd by his Favourites, the Men with the large Souls, it would have been very satisfactory ; but, upon a strict Enquiry, we shall find that they were not only very tender of their Money, but even the Scraps of their frugal Tables. The Difference in this Case is very remarkable : We will only mention a single Instance at *Lambeth*, the Poor of which great Parish, were almost maintain'd by the munificent Charities of *Sheldon* and *Sancroft* ; and this was not Scraps, and the Refuse of their hospitable Tables, but a daily Allowance of Meat and Drink, provided on purpose for the Poor. But when his Men of another Stamp succeeded, the Case was much alter'd ; the Church-wardens found more Business on their Hands, and the Rates in their Books daily increas'd ; till at last there was such a Reformation at *Lambeth*, that you might as well have seen a Beggar at the *Stadthuse* in *Amsterdam*, as before the Gate of that Palace, especially within the Reach of the Porter's Staff. But we can easily account for this wonderful Change : There was now a certain strange Thing within the Walls of that House, which never had been seen there for above a hundred Years before ; lac'd Heads, and silk Petticoats, diverted the Money that us'd to be given to the Poor. This gave

gave occasion to the *Paris Gazetteer* to exercise his Wit and Raillery on this Subject, in one of his Gazetts at this time: In the Article from *London*, he was pleas'd to tell us, that *the Sieur Tillotson was building an Apartment in the Archiepiscopal Palace of Lambeth for his Lady, (in French, Madame sa Femme) when that House was built, it not being the Custom for Archbishops to have Wives.* It is true, *Parker* was married; but his Successors had other Sentiments; whether it was to support the Credit of the Reformation, by not giving a Handle to the Ridicule of their Enemies, or that the great Men, who succeeded, thought it below their Patriarchal Dignity, as well as inconvenient, to be embarrass'd with the Impediments of common Life; this was the next Instance of Women being seen at *Lambeth*. As to Archbishop *Parker*, who was a great Favourite of Queen *Elizabeth*, by having had the Care of her Education, I have heard it often confidently affirm'd, tho' I shall not assert it as Fact, that this great Man, in complaisance to the Queen, who had a better Opinion of the Celibacy, than the married State of the Clergy, never produced his Lady publicly in his Palace, but kept her in a little House adjoining to his Garden-wall, thro' which, the Convenience of a Postern Door gave him private Access. If so, the good old Man had

had all the Pleasure and Amusement of an Intrigue, without the Guilt.

IT was neither my Design nor Inclination, when I undertook this Task, to have reflected on any Person, especially the Dead: But since the Author gives so great a Provocation, by extolling one Side, and unjustly defaming the other, by robbing the Deserving of their Due, and planting the Trophies of their Virtues on Heads with inferior Merit, it will be but common Justice to make a fair War, and endeavour to recover the Spoils. We will therefore enquire into the Men of another Stamp, who, he says, recover'd the Credit, the Esteem, and Reverence for the Church, which the others had lost. Most of these Men were Time-Servers, and had not only gone in with the Crowd, but had supported the Iniquity of the long Rebellion; and, for the sake of Preferment, had always comply'd with every Change of Religion and Government. But I will detain the Reader no longer, but only, by an Enquiry into two of his chief Characters, who both, as well as the Author, were meant by a famous Preacher, * when he told us above thirty Years ago from the Pulpit, *That the Streams could not run clear*
when

* Vide Dr. Birch's Sermons.

when the Fountains were polluted; when those were become Fathers of the Church, who had never been her Sons. The first of these was the famous Dr. Tillotson, who, it is very well known, wanted that sort of Learning so absolutely necessary to his Profession, as to be a Qualification for a Country Curate: By the Study of the Ancients, and the Classick Authors, whom he had made his Models, he had form'd a Stile, and acquir'd a just way of thinking, with a Simplicity and Easiness of Expression; before his Time, unknown in *England*. This justly gave him the Character of an excellent Preacher. I wish from my Heart, that I could speak as well of him in respect to his Religion and Politicks: His Alliance with *Cromwell*, with whose Party he maintain'd a firm and settled Friendship to his dying Day; his warping to some Heterodox Opinions, condemn'd in all Ages, and which gave a Handle to some Persons to charge him with Socinianism; but above all, his known Disaffection to the Discipline and Morals of the Church of *England*, made him a very popular Favourite with all her Enemies, the Protestant Dissenters of every Denomination. As to his Principles of Government, we need only tell the following Story, the Truth of which was too notoriously known to be now disputed. He was a Fellow of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, by virtue of a *Mandamus* from the *Rump*,
in

in the room of the famous and loyal Doctor *Gunning*, whom the Iniquity of those Times had by Violence ejected. Upon the News of the Defeat at *Worcester*, after Dinner in the Hall, when he was to return Thanks for another Man's Meat, which he had wrongfully eaten, he call'd for the Tables, in which the College Grace was written, and with his own Hand, out of Zeal to the Cause, inserted these Words: *Et praesertim pro nupera Victoria, in Agro Vigornienſi, contra Carolum Stuartum reportata.* This is the Man whom our Author ſo much magnifies; tho', if ſome Perſons, who out of Modeſty, or for ſome other worſe Reaſons, are unwilling to appear in publick, would openly avow, what they own to know of this Matter, he had not ſo much reaſon to value himſelf upon the Friendſhip of Dr. *Tillotſon*, who was a little ungrateful in this Point, in not having an equal Opinion of Dr. *Burnet*. In answer to what he ſays, that this great Man brought the Citizens of *London* from their Diſlike to the Church of *England*, we can eaſily account for that Matter; it being no Wonder, that the Party diſaffected to the Government in Church and State, ſhould be more willing to follow a Paſtor who had preach'd to them before in that Aſſembly, which we now call a Conventicle, and who was of the ſame Principles with thoſe Trumpeters of Sedition, who
had

had led them into the great Rebellion against
CHARLES I.

THE next is Doctor *Tennison*; but before I meddle with him, I must take notice of what he says of another great Man, who highly deserves to be esteem'd in all respects. This is Dr. *Stillingfleet*, in whom he finds nothing so much to commend, as one of the falsest Steps of his Life, his *Irenicum*; and that he may be all of a Piece, he as much condemns his Repentance.

OF Dr. *Tennison* he gives this Account; *A very worthy Successor in his Cure*; *Tennison*, he endow'd Schools, set up a publick Library. ——— He was a very learned Man, and took Pains to state the Notions and Practices of heathenish Idolatry, and to fasten that Charge upon the Church of Rome: And Whitehall lying in that Parish, he stood as in the Front of the Battle all King James's Reign, and maintain'd, as well as manag'd, that dangerous Post with great Courage and much Judgment; and was held in very high Esteem for his whole Deportment, which was very grave and moderate. These are the greatest Divines we have had for these forty Years. If this is true, nothing can be false; Dr. **Burnet** was never in the wrong in his Life, was as mortify'd a Man, as good a Christian as Bishop *Ken*,
and

and as fine a Gentleman, as Archbishop *Sheldon*. In answer to this Character, I shall only affirm, what was too well known at the time to be contradicted, that Doctor *Tennison* was the only Divine of the Church of *England*, who, in the Controversy with that of *Rome*, lost Ground, was foil'd and defeated by *Polton* the Jesuit, in the Conference at the *Savoy*, for want of Capacity to defend so good a Cause. So that the Author, before he can make us have any Opinion of this Man's extraordinary Learning, if half the Blunders, which are laid to his Charge, are true, should first convince us, of his having at all times good Sense. But since our Historian boasts of his Charity, in founding a paltry Grammar School with other Mens Money, and dares mention him in the same Day with so great Name as *Sheldon*, we will weigh the Merit of the two Men. When that illustrious Prelate, after his Promotion, went the first time to his Palace at *Croydon*, he gave no less than two hundred Pounds to the Poor. Archbishop *Tennison*, at the same Place, on the same Occasion, gave five Pounds among two hundred People, some of whom had come thirty Miles in Hopes of a considerable Relief. As the Value of the Money, so was that of the Men, by the Rule of Proportion, as five is to two hundred, so was Dr. *Tennison* to Dr. *Sheldon*.

P. 195. *All this I knew of Peter Walsh himself, who was the honestest and learnedest Man I ever knew among them. He was of Irish Extraction, and of the Franciscan Order; and was indeed, in all Points of Controversy, almost wholly a Protestant.* This is no unpleasant Assertion; he makes a Man the honestest Papist that ever he knew, because he was a Protestant in his Heart. He might have been the latter, and a very good Man, if he had thought fit to have own'd his Religion; but he was certainly never the better Papist for being a Hypocrite. Without allowing Dissimulation in the Case of Religion, the Author will hardly get clear of this Blunder.

P. 196. *For tho' the King never lov'd or esteem'd the Duke, yet he seem'd to stand in some kind of Awe of him.* This very thing he has asserted more than once; but how he will reconcile this Notion to the Actions of that Prince, we cannot imagine. As to outward Appearance, the Friendship between these two Royal Brothers was very remarkable; whenever the Sedition and Violence of the Times tore them from one another, they always parted with the most tender Sentiments of Brotherly Love, and a Friendship that was highly edifying to all Men

of Honour and Virtue. The King always employ'd him in Posts of the greatest Trust, till the Jealousy of the Duke's Religion, render'd him unqualify'd for any Employment. When the Bill of Exclusion had set the Nation on Fire, this weak, this indolent Prince, absorpt in his Pleasures, according to our Author's Character, shew'd a Firmness and Resolution in Defence of a Person, whom he neither lov'd nor esteem'd, that must make his Conduct in this Point very unaccountable; when, by sacrificing to his Interest the Man whom he fear'd, he might at once have got rid of those Apprehensions, and the Danger that threaten'd him at the same time from his People. Besides, the Tenderness with which, when dying, he bequeath'd him his Crown, must confute this false and ridiculous Assertion of the Author.

P. 196. *There was no visible Cause of War; a Complaint of a Ship taken was ready to be satisfy'd.* The Author has been all along before ext avagant; but here he exceeds himself, and treats his Reader with the last Contempt by thinking he could thus impose upon him; as if he believ'd that no Body would read any Book but his own, and that there would be no Journals or Records for the Information of Posterity. Since we have been

been a Nation, and able to make War, we never enter'd into any with more Unanimity and the publick Voice of the People. *Europe* alone was too narrow a Theatre for the Depredations of the *Dutch*; both *Indies* and *Africk*, the four Quarters of the World, were Witnesses of the Violences offer'd to the *English* Nation. These repeated Injuries rais'd such an Outcry among the Merchants, that they found themselves oblig'd to petition the King and Parliament: Committees were appointed to enquire into the Facts; all which being undeniably prov'd, both Houses join'd in a solemn and most pathetick Address to the King, beseeching him to do Justice to his injur'd Subjects. The Truth of this will appear, by the Votes and Journals of Parliament, as well as the common Chronicles. The Loss sustain'd by *England*, as prov'd upon Oath, amounted to no less than seven or eight hundred thousand Pounds; for which no Reparation could be obtain'd, tho' amicably demanded. Upon this, two hundred thousand Pounds, by two Loans, were advanc'd, to carry on this War, by the City of *London*, a Body of Men, who seldom make such Compliments to their Princes, but when they are as much prompted by Interest as Inclination. All this the good Bishop smothered, by only saying, *that a Ship taken was ready to be satisfy'd.* This is all the Cause

that he assigns for that bloody War, so justly enter'd into by the Provocation of the Enemy, and in Defence of our just Rights, against the only dangerous Rival of our Commerce. Whether or no he has acted in this Matter, with the Candor and Fidelity of a just and honest Historian, I leave to the most bigotted Admirers of Dr. **Burnet** to decide ; especially, the Reverend Mr. *Stackhouse*, who has so great an Opinion of the Author's Veracity.

P. 200. This was as far as I could penetrate into it, the State of the Court for the first four Years after the Restoration. I was in the Court a great part of the Year 1662, 1663, and 1664, and was as inquisitive as possibly I could be ; and had more than ordinary Occasions to hear and see a great deal. Truth will come out at last ; it was in the Years 62, 63, and 64, that he was really at Court ; but he had now forgot what he had told us before, that he was there in the Year 1660, before he was seventeen Years old, when he saw far into the Management of Affairs, Vide p. 40. As to his Inquisitiveness, no Body can doubt that Matter ; he was always impertinently prying more than became him, tho' he so often charges the rest of his Order with meddling in Affairs, out of the Sphere of their own Function : He might have remember'd, that he

he had arraign'd the *Scotch* Bishops for being too often at Court, tho' their eminent Station and Rank in the Government, seem'd to give them a juster Call to that Place, than any Affairs of a private and pragmatical Parson.

P. 203, he complains of the Severities us'd against his Uncle *Wariston*. One of the first things done in this Session of Parliament, was the Execution of my unfortunate Uncle *Wariston*; he was so disorder'd in Body and Mind, that it was a Reproach to a Government to proceed against him. His Memory was so gone, that he did not know his own Children. He was brought before the Parliament, to hear what he had to say, why his Execution should not be awarded. He spoke long, but in a broken and disorder'd Strain, which his Enemies fancy'd, was put on to create Pity. He was sentenc'd to die. His Deportment was unequal, as might be expected from a Man in his Condition; yet when the Day of his Execution came, he was very serene, he was chearful, and seem'd satisfy'd with his Death. He read a Speech twice over on the Scaffold, that to my Knowledge he compos'd himself; in which he justify'd all the Proceedings in the Covenant, and asserted his own Sincerity; but condemn'd his joining with *Cromwell* and the *Sectaries*; tho' even in that, his

Intention had been sincere. Lord Lauderdale had liv'd in great Friendship with him; but he saw the King was so set against him, that he, who at all times took more care of himself than his Friends, would not, in so critical a time, seem to favour a Man, whom the Presbyterians had set up as a sort of Idol among them, and on whom they did depend more than any Man alive. Not to dwell upon the usual Inconsistencies in this Account of the Behaviour, it is a little remarkable, that a Man, who was disorder'd in his Head before, should so recover his Senses, as to grow serene and calm at the Sight of the Gallows. If it were reasonable and just to make any Examples in Scotland, there was not one Man in that Kingdom less an Object of Mercy, than the Laird of Wariston, if we consider his Conduct from the Beginning of the Troubles to the End; his mortal Inveteracy to both Kings, Father and Son; the Mischiefs that he did them; and his constant Attachment to the republican Sectaries in England: So that if his Interest and Credit were so great, as he says, with the King's Enemies, that dangerous Popularity alone, was sufficient to bar all Mercy, and make the Death of this unhappy Man not less necessary to the Safety of the King, than due to his Justice. Thus this injudicious Writer, seldom or never finds a Fault, but, thro' Inadvertency and want of

of thinking, he immediately himself furnishes a Justification of the Action he condemns.

P. 204. *There was some little Opposition made to it by the Earl of Kinkardin, who was an Enemy to all Persecution: But tho' some few voted against it, it was carried by a vast Majority.* It is very remarkable, that the Author is always so unlucky, as to have but a few on his Side of the Question; sometimes but one for him, always a very great Majority against him. If one might argue on this Head according to Reason and Experience, it is to be inferr'd from thence, that what he blames, was certainly equitable and right; for we cannot conceive Mankind so abandon'd, nor can History furnish us with an Example, that in so numerous an Assembly as a Parliament, there was not always some Number of honest Men on the Side of Justice. In all the Hardships, which the Author so frequently condemns, it would be more for the Credit of what he maintains, if those ill things had been rather carried by a Majority of one or two, than always to have no more than that Number on his, and the negative Side.

P. 205. *After these Acts were pass'd, the Parliament was dissolv'd, which gave a general Satisfaction to the Country; for they*

were a furious Set of People. This is the Compliment that he makes to the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, the whole representative Body of the People, which consisted of Persons, at this Time, of the greatest Fortune and Interest in their Country. From hence it is plain, that this Bishop of the Church of *England*, really in his Heart believ'd, that all were bad Men, who were not good Presbyterians.

P. 210. But all those Countries that lie towards the West, became very fierce and intractable; and the whole Work of the Council was to deal with them, and subdue them. It was not easy to prove any thing against them; for they stuck firm to one another. ——— The People treated them with great Contempt, and with an Aversion, that broke out often into Violence and Injustice. But their Ministers on their Parts, were not wanting in their Complaints, aggravating Matters, and possessing the Bishops with many Stories of Designs vnd Plottings against the Government: So many were brought before the Council, and the new Ecclesiastical Commission, for pretended Riots, and using their Ministers ill; but chiefly for not coming to Church, and holding Conventicles. The Proofs were often defective, and lay rather in Presumptions than clear Evidence. ——— Great Numbers were
cast

cast in Prison, where they were kept long, and ill us'd; and sometimes they were fin'd, and the younger Sort whip'd about the Streets. Here is a whole Bundle of Inconsistencies: In the first Place, he tells you himself, that the West became very fierce and intractable; that the whole Business of the Council was to subdue them; and yet they did not know whom to subdue; for they stuck to one another, and it was hard to prove any thing against them: But the People who made the Complaint, and gave the Informations, must certainly know them, though they would not accuse one another. The Ministers, who were outrag'd, must know their own Parishioners and Neighbours who committed the Violence; they were not Blacks, and acted in Masquerade. If there were Laws against not coming to Church, it was easy to be certain whether a Man came there or no; he could not be at Church, and at the same time not be visible. After all, he complains that they were punish'd without legal Proofs. If their Actions were not plain and visible, he should not have affirm'd himself, that the West grew fierce and intractable; and if the thing was apparent, they receiv'd no more than a just Chastisement; which, on this Side Death, must be either pecuniary, corporal, or Imprisonment. Thus the Author, after
he

he has own'd the Crime, forgets what he has said, and condemns the Punishment.

P. 216. *I observ'd the Deportment of the Bishops was in all Points so different from what became their Function, that I had more than ordinary Zeal kindled within me upon it. They were not only furious against all that stood out against them, but were very remiss in all Parts of their Function. Some did not live within their Diocese; and those who did, seem'd to take no care of them. They shew'd no Zeal against Vice. The most eminently wicked in the Country were their particular Confidants. They took no care to keep their Clergy strictly to Rules, and to their Duty. On the contrary, there was a Levity and carnal way of living about them, that very much scandaliz'd me. This Expression, Levity and carnal way of living about them, is true Presbyterian Cant; and consequently not the best English. Here I must appeal to the Reader, if any thing can be more astonishing, than that this Writer should not reflect on what he had said of these very individual Men, in his Preface to Bishop Bedel's Life, written long after this time. If he could forget what he had said before, he must have had a very treacherous Memory, tho' he was always famous for the contrary Quality: But as it is impossible, except in a Lethargy, for a*
Man

Man not to remember a Book that he had written, we must ascribe this Conduct to an Assurance without Example, thus to be above all dread of Censure, and brave Mankind. His Zeal against those Immoralities was certainly very much cool'd, when in that Preface, he made such fulsome Encomiums on these good Bishops whom he now reviles; he then tells the World, that *they were an Angelical Rank of Men; that he saw in them such things, as look'd liker fair Ideas, than what Men cloathed with Flesh and Blood could grow up to.* These two opposite Characters cannot both be true. As it is impossible to reconcile Contradictions, either Dr. **Burnet** must be guilty of the most abject Flattery, or the Bishop of *Salisbury* of the vilest Detraction.

P. 217. *There was, indeed, one Scougal Bishop of Aberdeen, that was a Man of rare Temper, great Piety, and Prudence.* Notwithstanding this Character, he was one of the Bishops that he abus'd as well as the rest. The Reader will wonder to hear him speak so well of a Bishop who was not of his Party; but he must know, that this good old Gentleman, thro' a fatal Indulgence, which he heartily repented of afterward, sav'd our Author from having his Gown stripp'd over his Ears, when he so scandalously abus'd the whole Body of the Bishops in

in *Scotland*. This is the first Instance of his being sensible of Benefits ; I am glad to find that he could once vanquish his Nature, and deviate into Gratitude. The Author gives his own Account of this Matter ; by which the Action appears, as he tells the Story himself, impertinent and pragmatical, not more insolent than seditious, and contrary to his canonical Obedience, if there were any such Obligation in the Church of *Scotland*. Dr. *Cockburn* has lately set this Matter in a very clear Light, and will be always believ'd by the unprejudic'd Part of the World before the Author. He says, that Mr. *Burnet* made a very great Submission ; and, he believes, on his Knees ; otherwise they would, notwithstanding the Intercession of the Bishop of *Aberdeen*, have proceeded to Extremities, with so insolent a young Man but twenty-three Years old, who had thus presum'd, in so saucy a manner, to reprove and instruct his Superiors. Tho' this is highly probable, that they could not be contented with a less Satisfaction, the good Bishop of *Salisbury*, as if he were ashamed of having any Grace, with his usual Confidence, asserts, that he never submitted. We shall not now determine this Point, who was in the right, Dr. *Cockburn*, or Dr. *Burnet* ; but we may venture to believe him in this Part of the Story, when he owns himself, that he could not repent.

P. 218. *As soon as the War broke out, a most terrible Plague broke out also in the City of London, that scatter'd all the Inhabitants that were able to remove themselves elsewhere. It broke the Trade of the Nation, and swept away about one hundred thousand Souls, the greatest Havock that any Plague had made in England. This did dishearten all People; and coming in the very time that so unjust a War was begun, it had a dreadful Appearance. All the King's Enemies, and the Enemies of Monarchy, said, here was a manifest Character of God's heavy Displeasure upon the Nation: As indeed the ill Life the King led, and the Viciousness of the whole Court, gave but a melancholy Prospect; yet God's Ways are not our Ways. What all had seen in the Year 1660, ought to have silenc'd those who at this time pretended to comment on Providence. As to the Injustice of the Dutch War, I have sufficiently answer'd that scandalous Assertion already: But that a Plague should happen, without being sent as a Punishment for the Wickedness of the King, it seems, is not conceivable by some People; tho' the Reigns of Queen ELIZABETH, JAMES, and CHARLES I. were all usher'd in by great Pestilences: This was severe on those virtuous and temperate Princes, who had not offended Heaven, as King CHARLES II. and his impious Court. If the Author had diligently obser-*

observ'd our *English* History, he would have found, that there was hardly a Space of above forty Years, since the Conquest, without some Plague or epidemical Distemper in *England*; that we have escap'd so long, as since the last, is owing to natural Causes, and the Accident of the Great Fire; after which, the Town being rebuilt, the Houses are more airy, lightsome, and clean; the Streets being made much wider, have given a freer Ventilation, and consequently the Air is meliorated. Nothing can be more diverting, than to see Men, who have no Religion at all, to serve their Ends, lay hold on the Weakness and Superstition of those who have too much; and assert that Providence, in which at the Bottom they do not believe. The Author's good Friends, whom he mentions, the Enemies to the King and Monarchy, were very ill Arguers on this Head. This sort of Men, with the Ropes about their Necks, justify'd their good *Old Cause*, by the frequent Declaration of Heaven on their Side; not considering, that the same Providence, which had given them the decisive Battle at *Naseby*, had brought them at last to the Gallows. It is not easy to conceive his true Meaning, when he says, *What all had seen in the Year 1660, ought to have silenc'd those, who at this time pretended to comment on Providence.* This is an intricate Sentence, and difficult to comprehend.

prehend ; I have examin'd it with great Care, and, considering the Author's Bent and Inclinations, can find no Meaning more natural, than after what they had seen already, in the Year 1660, they should wonder at nothing that could happen ; that both were equally Plagues, the present Sickness, and late Restoration.

In the same Page, he gives an Account, of the first Battle with the *Dutch* ; in which, contrary to the Grain, he owns that they were beaten, only to have an Occasion, by the most malicious and false Insinuations, to reflect on the Courage of the Duke, for not beating them more the next Day. In order to this, he would have you believe, that the Duke privately commanded sail to be slaken'd in the Night. This Reflection has been sufficiently refuted by others before me ; so I shall give myself, and the Reader, no further Trouble in proving what so many thousand Witnesses confirm'd, the personal Courage of the Duke of *York* on this Occasion: This is no more disputed, by Men of common Ingenuity, than the want of Candor in the Author, who reviles him. He says, indeed, *The Duke deny'd giving any such Order ; but he neither punish'd Bruncker for carrying it, nor Pen for obeying it. He, indeed, put Bruncker out of his Service.*

vice. This is as much as to say, that he did not punish him, and he did punish him. My Lord *Brunker* was neither Soldier nor Sailor, acted under no Commission; and, consequently, under no Cognisance of martial Justice. He was of the Bed-chamber to the Duke, a Post of Trust, Honour, and Profit, out of which he was turn'd with Disgrace. This was all that could be done on a Civil Account; and was thought to be a Punishment by every one, except our good-natur'd Author.

P. 221, THE Reader will be entertain'd with another Specimen of his Justice to the Duke of *York*. He is to give an Account of the Miscarriage before *Bergen* in *Norway*, of which he says thus: *The Earl of Sandwich was sent to the North with a great Part of the Fleet, to lie for the East-India Ships; but he was thought too remiss. They got, before he was aware of it, into Bergen in Norway; if he had follow'd them quick, he would have forc'd the Port, and taken them all; but he observ'd Forms, and sent to the Viceroy of Norway to demand Entrance. This was deny'd him; but while these Messages went backward and forward, the Dutch had so fortify'd the Entrance into the Port, that tho' it was attempted with great Courage, yet Tiddiman, and those who composed that Squadron, were*
beat

beat off with very great Loss, and forc'd to let go a very rich Fleet; for which Lord Sandwich was very much blam'd; tho' he was sent Embassador into Spain, that this Disgrace might be a little softned by that Employment. The Duke's Conduct was also much blam'd; and it was said, that he was most in the Fault; but that the Earl of Sandwich was made the Sacrifice. I cannot doubt, but the Reader is sufficiently convinc'd of the Author's Malice to the Duke of *York*; that he would take any Handle to misrepresent, and give a wrong Turn to the personal Actions of that Prince, every one must believe: But in this Case, he seems to have lost both Memory and Reason, when he makes this absurd and senseless Reflection. The Duke was at this time at *London*, above 150 Leagues from *Bergen* in *Norway*; and yet he must be responsible for the ill Conduct of another, when, as he owns himself, the Success of the whole Affair, depended upon taking the Opportunity of a very few Hours. However, the Duke was most in the Fault, and my Lord *Sandwich* sacrific'd, because that Admiral did not rush into the Port, as he ought to have done, without asking leave of the Vice-Roy. This is his own Account, notwithstanding which, without considering the Circumstances of Time or Place, and the Impossibility of what he asserts, his

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boiling Malice runs over, and so drowns his Senses, as to make him commit this unaccountable Blunder.

P. 229, He has this surprizing Sentence ; after a full Stop, he begins another Period with these Words : *But to compleat the Miseries of this Year, the Plague was so sunk in London, that the Inhabitants began to return to it.* What he means, is past my Skill to discover ; I cannot see any Probability of a typographical Error, without changing one Word for another, which is not a natural Mistake ; if this had been the Case, it would surely have been corrected by those who had the Care of revising the Press, and put in among the *Errata*, which they would have thought fit to have printed ; tho', indeed, excepting this Absurdity, there was not much occasion ; for the Book is very correct ; so that there is little to be laid at the Door of the Printer ; all the Faults are the Author's own, who lay certainly, at this time, under some absence of Mind, and thought not of what he was doing ; as just before, when he blam'd the Duke of York, tho' five hundred Miles distant, for the Mis-carriage of my Lord *Sandwich* at *Bergen*.

IN his Account of the Fire, p. 230, he tells us, *One Hubert, a French Papist, was seiz'd on in Essex, as he was getting out of the way in great Confusion. He confess'd that*

that he began the Fire, and persisted in his Confession till his Death; for he was hang'd upon no other Evidence but his own Confession. It is true, he gave so broken an Account of the whole Matter, that he was thought mad. Here is a very great Mistake in the Religion of the Man: He was born, bred, and dy'd a Protestant, as appear'd by the Oaths of several *Frenchmen*, who knew his Parents, Birth, and Education, at *Rouen*. Nor was it less prov'd, that he had for some time before been disorder'd in his Senses, even to downright Madness. That this Man was a Protestant, is even own'd by *Mr. Eachard*, who has taken the following ridiculous Story, as he says, from a reverend Prelate, whom we may suppose to be our Author; because he gives the same Account, p. 231. *The most extraordinary Passage, tho' it is but a Presumption, was told me by Dr. Floyd and the Countess of Clarendon; the latter had a great Estate in the New River that is brought from Ware to London, which is brought together at Islington. There was one Grant, a Papist, ——— he had some time before apply'd himself to Floyd, who had great Credit with the Countess of Clarendon, and said, that he could raise that Estate considerably, if she would make him a Trustee for her. ——— He went thither the Saturday before the Fire broke out, and call'd for the Key of the Place where the*

Heads of the Pipes were, and turn'd all the Cocks that were then open, and stopt the Water and went away, and carry'd the Keys with him ; so when the Fire broke out the next Morning, they open'd the Pipes in the Streets to find Water, but there was none ; and some Hours were lost in sending to Islington, where the Door was to be broke open, and the Cocks turn'd ; and it was long before the Water got to London. Grant, indeed, deny'd that he turn'd the Cocks ; but the Officer of the Works affirm'd that he had, according to Order, set them all a running ; and that no Person had got the Keys from him besides Grant, who confess'd he had carry'd away the Keys, but pretended he did it without Design.

Before I proceed with the Detection of this Forgery, I must beg the Reader's Patience, to let me make some Remarks on the Barbarity of this Stile ; as I have tax'd him with this Defect in the Beginning of my Book, I would charge him with nothing that I cannot justify ; in order to which, I must desire the Reader to take notice of some Sentences in this last Paragraph, viz. “ the
 “ *New River* that is brought from *Ware* to
 “ *London*, which is brought together at *Is-*
 “ *lington* ——— and call'd for the Key of
 “ the Place where the Heads of the Pipes were,
 “ and turn'd all the Cocks that were then o-
 “ pen, and stopt the Water and went away,
 and

“and carry’d the Keys with him.” Here, in three Lines, the Conjunction Copulative, *and*, is repeated five times successively, without any change of the Construction. How great a Solæcism this is in *Syntax*, every School-Boy can tell; and how untunable, the Ear of the Reader will best decide. Besides this, he often repeats the Adverb *so* several times together, in his Narration, tho’ it signifies nothing to the Sense. This is the Fault of the most vulgar and illiterate People in common Discourse. But what is worst of all, is, his frequent ending, not only Sentences, but sometimes Periods, with Præpositions, *in, at, up, with, for, to, by, &c.* This Negligence, or rather Ignorance, shews him to be as uncorrect, as some other Defects, an injudicious Writer. But to return to his Tale: Here is a formal Account, which, if not true, requir’d a fruitful Invention to coin such a Story, attended with so many Circumstances; but we will convict him with a Record. Islington, March 3, 172³, *Captain John Grant admitted a Member of the New-River Company, on Tuesday, September 25, 1666.*

No particular Member of the Company, has Power to order the Main to be shut down; nor can it ever be done, without a particular Direction of the Board, of which Minutes are always taken; and there are

no Minutes of this, as will appear by the Company's Books.

Grant's Admittance on the 25th of September, twenty-three Days after the Fire, could have given him no more Authority at *Islington*, the second of that Month, than if it happen'd but Yesterday; the difference of Time, in this Case, was the same, as if it had been a Platonick Revolution.

WHAT Man of Probity, without better Grounds, would have transmitted to Posterity a Story, so cruelly injurious to the Memory of an honest and innocent Man? He owns himself that he had it from an old Woman; and it sounds, indeed, like an old Woman's Tale. His other Evidence is not much better, his good Friend the old Prophet, who, though he could foretell what was to come, was not sure, it seems, of the past. Tho' this reverend Witness was a Conjuror in Chronology, and that sort of Learning, in some respects he was a very weak Man, credulous to the last Degree; capable of believing any thing, tho' never so absurd, of a Papist; and not the most tender in reporting the Story on the slightest Authority.

He now proceeds to give an Account of the Rebellion, that broke out in *Scotland*,
at

at this time. This shews the Villany of the Men, who took this Opportunity to rise in Arms, when *England* was under such a Distraction and Calamity. The Author treats these Miscreants with so much Tenderness, as if he would justify the Action, if he durst. P. 236, he thus bemoans their Death, when they were brought to condign Punishment for their Crimes: *It was a moving Sight to see ten of the Prisoners hang'd upon one Gibbet at Edinburgh, thirty-five more were sent to their Counties, and hang'd up before their own Doors, their Ministers all the while using them hardly, and declaring them damn'd for their Rebellion. They might all have sav'd their Lives, if they would have renounc'd the Covenant.* Nothing is more astonishing than the Partiality of this Man, in reproaching the Government for acting in their own Defence, by making Examples of those incorrigible Wretches, whom no repeated Acts of Mercy and Indulgence could reclaim. The Author had surely forgotten the Cruelty of the *Covenanters* to the *Cavaliers*, only for acting by the Commission of their lawful Prince, which certainly very much alter'd the Case. When those wicked Men were in Power, *Scotland* saw her noblest Blood shed by the Hangman after another manner, if we can believe Sir *George Mackenzie*, who was in all respects, as much more reputable

as he was a greater Man than the Author. *Mackenzie's Vindication*, p. 23, *Marquesses of Huntly and Montrose, President Spotswood, Haddo, and seven hundred Gentlemen more, who dy'd by their Justice Court, when their Covenant over-rul'd Law and Equity; four hundred and fifty Gentlemen and Commoners who dy'd by the Justice-Court of Argyle.* Besides, the same Author tells you in another Place, that these godly *Covenanters*, in cold Blood, at one time, flung fourscore poor Women over the Bridge at *Lithgow*, only for following *Montrose's* Camp. These were Executions with a Vengeance, of which no History, in any Christian Country, can furnish an Example. After this, the Author need not have made such a Stir, for the Death of forty-five mean Persons, out of two thousand, who had forfeited their Lives to the Laws: Though I very much question, whether or no there were so many as forty-five put to death at this time; 'till I have better Authority, than the Word of an Author, who, as he has so often prevaricated in the most notorious Matters of Fact, may be suppos'd not to be over-scrupulous in adding or diminishing Numbers. On this Occasion, the learned Bishop gives us a Spice of his Divinity, in censuring the Ministers, for telling these Men that they would be damn'd if they dy'd without Repentance.

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With the reverend Author's Leave, this was certainly true, sound, and christian Doctrine, if we believe the holy Scriptures, which have pronounc'd this Sentence on all who die impenitent; especially in so mortal a Sin as Rebellion, which the Spirit of God has thought fit to compare with that of Witchcraft. He says they might have been sav'd, if they would have renounc'd the *Covenant*: This shews the merciful Disposition of that Government, and the invincible Obstinacy of those Men; a Madness, which would have been less unaccountable, if the Author had been their Confessor.

P. 237. They did all at their Death give their Testimony, according to their Phrase, to the Covenant, and to all that had been done pursuant to it; and they express'd great Joy in their Sufferings. Most of them were but mean and inconsiderable Men in all respects; yet even these were firm and inflexible in their Persuasion. Many of them escap'd, notwithstanding the great Search that was made for them. Guthry, the chief of their Preachers, was hid in my Mother's House, who was bred to her Brother Wariston's Principles, and could never be mov'd from them. The last Part of this Paragraph will pass without Contradiction. By this it is evident, that good Mrs. Burnet was truly descended from Rachel Arnot, by keep-

keeping a Master *Bruce* in her House, as well as her Grandmother. If the Laws of *Scotland* are as severe as those of *England*, in the Case of harbouring Traitors, we have another Instance of Treason committed by the Ladies of this Family. That Mrs. *Burnet* retain'd the Principles of her Brother, and her Son *Gilbert* those of his Mother, are both alike indisputable. I should not have taken notice of this Trifle, but to chastise the Vanity of the Author, who is always talking of himself and his Family; nor would he have mention'd this Story of his Mother, but that he believ'd the Action meritorious.

IN the same Page, he entertains the Reader with the Execution of one of their Preachers. On this Occasion, the Author seems animated with an uncommon Transport of Admiration. One *Macail*, who was only a *Probationer Preacher*, and who had been Chaplain to Sir James Steward's House, had gone from *Edenburgh* to them. He bore the Torture with great Constancy; and either he could say nothing, or he had Firmness not to discover those who had trusted him. Every Man of them could have sav'd his own Life, if he would accuse any other; but they were all true to their Friends. *Macail*, for all the Pains of the Torture, dy'd in a Rapture of Joy. His last Words were: "Farewel Sun, Moon, and Stars; farewel
"Kin-

“ Kindred and Friends ; farewell World and
“ Time ; farewell weak and frail Body ; wel-
“ come Eternity ; welcome Angels and Saints ;
“ welcome Saviour of the World ; welcome
“ God the Judge of all.” *Which he spoke with
a Voice and manner, that struck all that
heard it.* Here the Author is all Rapture,
and seems carried away with an emulous
Fervor at the astonishing Behaviour of these
poor deluded Creatures, who dy’d in Im-
penitence ; which he is so far from censuring,
that on the other hand, one would think
that he was writing a Martyrology of the
Primitive Christians, and adorning the Me-
mory of the Saints who suffer’d under *Ne-
ro* and *Dioclesian* : But it is no wonder,
after pitying the Regicides in *England*, that
he should have the same Bowels, and Senti-
ments of Tenderness, for the Brethren in
Scotland.

IT is certain, that the last dying Words
of this unhappy Man, are pathetically mov-
ing ; and, if he had suffer’d for a less hai-
nous Cause, would justly have rais’d Com-
passion ; which can only result from a firm
Belief that the Party is injur’d in not being
guilty ; or, when by his Behaviour and Re-
pentance he so atones, as to make the Spec-
tator forget the Crime, and the Penitent de-
serve to be innocent. But Atheism has had
its Votaries and Martyrs, as well as Reli-
gion ;

gion ; and we have Instances of Men, who have dy'd with as great Firmness and Resolution in denying the Existence of a God, where there could be no Hopes of a Reward, as the Apostles themselves in asserting the Truths of Christianity. This Behaviour of the first, undoubtedly rais'd Admiration ; but it was an Admiration attended with Horror, and not with Pity.

THE Author is too partial to his own Countrymen, the *Scotch* Presbyterians ; he dwells too long on their Praises, without having done the same Justice to our *English* *Venner*, and his Fifth-Monarchy Men, who dy'd with the same Resolution, acting against the same Prince, and for the same Cause, *viz.* the Setting of Christ upon his Throne, and breaking the Powers of the Earth. If it should be objected, that there were no People in *Scotland* of such Principles, by and by, in proper Time and Place, we will bring undeniable Instances of the same, if not greater Madness, in that Country.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Provocation given by this new Rebellion, at a time when *England* was so distressed by two Calamities, the Plague, and afterwards the Fire ; the Author continues his Invectives against the *Scotch* Administration both in Church and
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and State, of which his Accounts are so partial and unjust, as to leave it doubtful, whether they are more false or malicious. But Sir *George Mackenzie*, who was even a better Divine than the Author, as well as a Lawyer, has so satisfactorily vindicated the Conduct of that Government, in all Transactions both Civil and Spiritual, that what Dr. *Burnet* condemns as Severity, was rather Lenity, an Indolence in the Administration, that often had like to have prov'd very fatal; they scarce defended themselves; and if they had succumb'd under those frequent Attacks, would rather have deserv'd the Name of *Felo's de se*, than Tyrants. Not content to abuse the Civil Government, and the great Men in the Church, he falls at the same time most furiously on the inferior Clergy; but the Reader by this time, is sufficiently acquainted with the Temper of the Man, and consequently, cannot think it strange, after daring to censure the Morals of the greatest and most pious Prelates in *England*, that he should have no more Mercy on the poor Curates in *Scotland*; but so great is the Inconsistency of this Author, that he constantly forgets, and contradicts himself before his Ink is dry: He just now represented the Presbyterians, as poor harmless Men, made mad by Oppression; on which Account, he seems to

to justify their frequent Rebellions; but now he plainly shews us that they were made in another Mould, not less rampant and untractable on Indulgence, than furious and ungovernable under pretended Persecution; like some curst and ill-natur'd Curs, that will bite the Hand which strokes, as well as that which corrects them; for p. 247, he gives them this Character: *The Presbyterians seeing a softning in the Execution of the Law, and observing that the Archbishops were jealous of Lord Twedale, fancy'd that he was theirs in his Heart: Upon that they grew very insolent; the Clergy was in many Places ill us'd by them.* After this Confession, when they come to be punish'd for these Misdemeanors, he will immediately arraign the Government; as if he thought that his Friends were not responsible to the Laws, and that an Impunity for Crimes committed by the Saints, as well as Dominion, was founded in Grace.

P. 261, He mentions a Design, which was at this Time set on Foot, to divorce K. CHARLES from Q. Catherine; on this Occasion he tells us, *Other Stories were given out of the Queen's Person, which were false; for I saw a Letter under the King's own Hand, that the Marriage was consummated; others talk'd of Polygamy;*

Polygamy: Lord Lauderdale, and Sir Robert Murray, ask'd my Opinion of these things; I said I knew speculative People could say a great deal, in the way of Argument, for Polygamy and Divorce. Yet these things were so decry'd, that they were rejected by all Christian Societies. After owning thus himself, that Polygamy and Divorce were unlawful, and rejected by all Christian Societies, could any Man believe, that this very Author had taken the Pains, to write two Arguments in Defence of both? first of Divorce in case of Barrenness, and of Polygamy in general, without any such Motive: These Papers he put into the Hands of Lord *Lauderdale*, and others, with an Intent to further the Design and defend the Injustice. This Contradiction of himself, in now denying what he had justify'd before, shews the Integrity of the Man, as the Arguments themselves the Orthodoxy of the Divine, in opposing the whole Torrent of Antiquity, the Decrees of the Church, and the unanimous Opinion of Civilians, Canonists, Casuists, and Divines, in all Ages. We will entertain the Reader with one of these Papers, which are entitled, *Dr. Gilbert Burnet's Resolution of two important Cases of Conscience.* Question the first. Is a Woman's Barrenness a just Ground for a Divorce, or for Polygamy? In this of Barrenness, there
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are some Expressions so indecent, as would offend the fair Sex ; for which reason, we shall omit the Discussion of this Case in regard to the Ladies, who may do us the Honour to read these Remarks.

THE second Question Is, is Polygamy in any Case lawful under the Gospel? Resolv'd.

For answer it is to be consider'd, that Marriage is a Contract founded upon the Laws of Nature, its End being the Propagation of Mankind; and the Formality of doing it by Churchmen, is only a super-venient Benediction, or pompous solemnizing of it ; and therefore the Nature of Marriage, and not any Forms us'd in the Celebration of it, is to be consider'd. It's true, the Case is harder when any is married by such a Form as binds him to one Woman, than when he is bound only by the tie of Marriage conceived in general Terms. The Case of Mankind since the Fall varies very much from what it was in Innocency; for then the Soundness of their Bodies, and the Purity of their Minds, did keep out of the way, all the Hazards of Barrenness, Sicknefs, Uncleannefs, or Crossness of Humour ; and therefore a single Marriage, as being the perfectest Coalition of Friendship and Interest was proper.

per to that State ; and so God made but one Woman for one Man : But upon the Fall, the Case varied hugely, and Frigidity, Barrenness, Unchastity, Crossness of Humours, made the former Law not so proper for the following Race of Mankind: Yet still a single Marriage was the perfecter, as being nearer the Original. Before the Flood we find Lamech a Polygamist ; such were Abraham and Jacob after it ; so that this was not indulg'd by Moses ; for all that he did relating to this, was only to allow of Divorce, which was a Proviso for the Hardness of the Israelites Hearts : Every Man was bound to maintain whom he had once married ; lest therefore such as design'd another Wife, and could not maintain the former, might use indirect Ways to be rid of them, this fair one of Divorce was allow'd of by God ; and this Polygamy was practis'd without either Allowance or Controul, as the natural Right of Mankind. Neither is it any where mark'd among the Blemishes of the Patriarchs ; David's Wives (and Store of them he had) are termed by the Prophet, God's Gift to him : Yea, Polygamy was made, in some Cases, a Duty by Moses's Law ; when any dy'd without Issue, his Brother, or nearest Kinsman, was to marry his Wife for raising up Seed to him ; and all were oblig'd to obey this

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*under the Hazard of the Infamy if they refus'd it; neither is there any Exceptions made for such as were marry'd; from whence I may faithfully conclude, that what God made necessary in some Cases to any degree, can in no case be sinful in itself, since God is holy in all his Ways: And thus far it appears that Polygamy is not contrary to the Law and Nature of Marriage. But it is next to be examin'd, if it is forbidden under the Gospel. It is certain, our Lord design'd to raise Mankind to the highest Degrees of Purity and Chastity; and therefore our Lord and St. Paul do prefer a single Life to a married State, as that which qualifies us for the Kingdom of Heaven, and was loaded with the fewest Incumbrances; and by this Rule, a single Marriage being next to none at all, is certainly most suitable to the Gospel; but a simple and express Discharge of Polygamy is no where to be found: It is true, our Lord discharges Divorces, except in the Case of Adultery; adding, that whosoever puts away his Wife upon any other Account, commits Adultery, so St. Luke and St. Matthew in one Place have it; or commits Adultery, against her, so St. Mark has it; or causes her to commit Adultery, so St. Matthew in another Place. If it be then Adultery to take another Woman after an unjust Divorce, it will follow, that the Wife has that Right to the Husband's Body, that he must touch no other. This is indeed plausible; and is all that
can*

can be brought from the New Testament, which seems convincing: Yet it will not be found of Weight; for it is to be consider'd, that if our Lord had been to antiquate Polygamy, it being so deeply rooted in the Men of that Age, confirm'd by such famous and unquestion'd Precedents, and rivetted by so long a Practice, he must have done it plainly and authoritatively; and not in such an involv'd Manner, that it must be sought out of his Words by the search of Logick; neither are these dark Words made more clear by any of the Apostles in their Writings. Words are to be carried no further than the Design upon which they were written will lead them to; so that our Lord being in that Place to strike out Divorces so explicitly, we must not by a Consequence condemn Polygamy, since it seems not to have fallen within the Scope of what our Lord does there disprove. Besides, the Term Adultery may be taken in general for such a Breach of Wedlock, as is equivalent to Adultery; and such is an unjust Divorce. This may be the Importance of the Phrase used by St. Mark, he committeth Adultery against her; or all may be better explain'd by the Phrase St. Matthew uses about it, in one Place, he causes her to commit Adultery; since he that exposeth and tempteth to sin, shares in the Guilt with the Person that succumbs: And from this it appears, that Polygamy is not declar'd Adultery, neither in the Place cited, nor any other that I know of.

But it is true that Polygamy falls short of the Intendment of Marriage in Innocency, to which State, we that are under the Gospel, must return as near as it is possible. It is to be confest, that Polygamy was much condemn'd by the Ancients; tho' I think I have met with something about it that is little notic'd; but of that, I can adventure to say nothing at this Distance from my Books and Papers: But all that being granted, it is to be consider'd, that the Ancients were unjust and severe against Marriage, and did excessively favour the Celibate; so that in some Places, they who married the second time, were put to do Penance for it: And, indeed, both Jew and Gentile had run into such Excess, by their free Commixtures, that it is no Wonder if the holy Men of these Ages, being provok'd to a just Zeal against such unjust Practices, must have been carried thro' the immoderate swaying of the Counterpoise into some Extreame on the other Hand: Therefore to conclude this short Answer, wherein many things are hinted, which might have been enlarg'd to a Volume, I see nothing so strong against Polygamy as to ballance the great and visible eminent Hazards that hang over so many thousands, if it be not allow'd.

THE Resolution of these two Cases, is attested by Dr. Paterson Archbishop of Glasgow,

gow, in the following Form, under his Hand and Episcopal Seal Manual :

AT *Edenburgh*, this fifth Day of *January* one thousand seven hundred and three Years. That the above-written Resolution of these two Cases, *viz.* (is a Woman's Barrenness a just Ground for Divorce, or Polygamy ; and is Polygamy in any Case lawful under the Gospel ?) contain'd in this and the two foregoing Pages, is a true Copy of what I saw, read and Copy'd, from the original Manuscript written with Dr. *Gilbert Burnet's* own Hand ; and which I copy'd over at *Ham*, in the Year 1680 ; the Original being then in the Possession of the late Duke of *Lauderdale*, by whose Allowance and Consent, I took a Copy of it, I do hereby solemnly attest, as Witness my Hand and Seal, Day, Year, and Place, above written

J. Glasgow, L. S.

THIS Copy is taken from the Original attested by the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, now in Possession of the honourable *Archibald Campbell*, where it may be seen, if there is Occasion.

THE Heterodoxy of these Opinions must be left to Divines and Casuists, whose Province it is to confute them. But we cannot

not part with this Subject without making one Remark : He allows Crossness of Humour to be one Reason for Plurality of Wives. But with Submission, we cannot think that a good Argument to induce any one to make a new Trial ; one Scold is enough in a House ; and when a Man is so unfortunate as to meet with that ill Quality in one Woman, the Devil is in him if he ventures on another.

WHEN the Author gave these Papers to Duke *Lauderdale*, with an Intention to justify that wicked Design of repudiating Queen *KATHARINE*, it is hardly credible, that he told his Patron, that what he had maintain'd was so unlawful, as to be rejected by all Christian Societies. That these were his own true Sentiments of this Matter is certain. As he thought fit to marry three Wives in his Life, if the Laws would have allow'd, considering the Frame of the Man in Body and Mind, no doubt can be made, but that he would have been infinitely pleas'd to have had his little Seraglio, and enjoy'd them all three together.

P. 262. At this time the Court fell into much Extravagance in Masquerading ; both King and Queen and all the Court went about mask'd ; and came into Houses unknown, and danc'd there with a great deal of wild Fro-

Frolick ; in all this People were so disguis'd, that without being in the Secret none could distinguish them. They were carried about in Hackney-Chairs. Once the Queen's Chairmen, not knowing who she was, went from her ; so she was alone, and much disturb'd, and came to Whitehall in a Hackney Coach, some say it was in a Cart. This is a smart Attack upon the Court ; and shews the Doctor's profound Knowledge even in Masquerades. First, They were so disguis'd that no Body could distinguish them. If that had not been their Intention, they would not have been in Masquerade. Ah, but they went about in Hackney-Chairs for the very same Reason ; if they had gone in their own, every Body would have known them. But the Cream of the Jest is, that the Queen went home in a Cart. This is all the Author's own ; and he thought it an extraordinary Flight of Wit and Satyr, without considering the Absurdity of the thing. Every one, who is acquainted with the Town of London, knows, that no Carts, except Gold-finders, ply in the Streets late at Night, tho' Coaches and Chairs may be had at any Hours.

THE remaining part of this Paragraph is equally as silly: *The Duke of Buckingham propos'd to the King, that he would give him Leave to steal her away, and send her to a*

Plantation, where she should be well and carefully look'd to; but never heard of more: So it should be given out that she had deserted; and upon that, it would fall in with some Principles to carry an Act for a Divorce, grounded upon pretence of wilful Desertion. This is a Stretch of Politicks beyond all the *Machiavels* that ever were. If this Story can be true, none but such an extravagant Man as the Duke of *Buckingham*, was capable of saying so ridiculous a thing in Jest; and none but such an Historian as Dr. *Burnet* to tell it again in earnest. To steal private Children was formerly usual; but to Kidnap a Queen, attended with so many Guards, is somewhat new and extraordinary. In this Case, that she should never be heard of any more, we must suppose, that her numerous Family of Servants, who depended on her, would never enquire after their Mistress, any more than her Friends and Relations in *Portugal*. How to clear the Author, and bring this Project within the Bounds of Possibility, will be no easy Matter; unless we imagine that they might surprise this poor Princess in her Cart, and then the Thing would be feasible.

P. 264. Speaking of my Lord *Rocheſter*, he ſays, *That he found out a Footman that knew all the Court; and he furniſh'd him*
with

with a red Coat and a Musket, as a Centinel; and kept him all the Winter long every Night, at the Doors of such Ladies as he believ'd might be in Intrigues. All Centinels are posted and reliev'd by Corporals; if the Persons themselves, or their Servants, had not discover'd the extraordinary Honour that was done them, by this new Mark of Distinction at their Door, the Corporals, when they went their Rounds to relieve the Centinels, would soon have detected the counterfeit Red-coat, and have carried him Prisoner to the Guard. So ridiculous a Story was never told by a Man of Sense before. This shews the Credulity and Ignorance of this Writer, who, for want of Judgment to distinguish between what is probable and what is absurd, often believes commonplace Stories, runs away with the little Chit-chat of the meanest People, and with these Impertinencies thinks to embellish his Memoirs. We shall hereafter have more remarkable Instances of his picking up Coffee-House Stories, and perpetuating to Posterity the Lies of the Day, which, without such a Register as the Author, generally expire as soon as they are born.

P. 272. No sooner was the King at ease, and had his Fleet put in good case, and his Stores and Magazines well furnish'd, than he immediately fell to negotiating with
France,

France, *both to ruin Holland, and subvert the Government of England.*

THIS Design in the King, of subverting the Liberties of *England*, has often, with a surprizing Temerity, been charg'd on this Prince by the Author. That the Affront at *Chatham* stuck in his Stomach is no Wonder; and if he had a mind to chastise the *Dutch* for that Indignity, it was but Prudence to fortify himself with strong Alliances; all wise Princes and Governments, on the same Occasion, use the same Precautions; but when they take these Measures, it is not to be inferr'd from thence, that they must consequently have a Design on the Liberties of their own People. This is all the Reason he seems to assign, *viz.* the Alliance with *France*, for this unjust Charge on CHARLES II. If the Reputation of private Men is dearer than Life, that of great Princes is certainly as sacred. Till the charitable Author thinks fit to give us some more plausible Reasons, some greater Motives of Credibility to influence our Faith in this Matter, we must beg his Excuse, if we cannot believe him. If this King had really such wicked Designs, it is strange that he should never attempt to put them in Execution; he had it in his Power to have gone a great way, if we may credit the Author's own Accounts; a wicked Ministry, a corrupt Parliament devoted to the Court, and a
strict

strict Alliance with the strongest Power in *Europe* to back him, must needs have put him in such a Situation, as probably to have enabled him to carry his Point, if he had been capable of forming so unjust a Project. All the World knows, that this cautious Prince rejected the arbitrary Schemes of my Lord *Shaftsbury*, which Virtue had like to have cost him so dear; his habit of Life, his Manners and Conduct, his Indolence and Aversion to Enterprizes of Hazard, plainly confute the Absurdity of this Accusation against CHARLES II. who, if he had been carried away by no other Lust, but that of Power, might have made as good a Christian as he was a King. This Aversion to King CHARLES, which is evident by so constant a Train of Calumny, is not the most unaccountable Part of Dr. Burnet's Conduct; ill Men will always gratify their Revenge at the Expence of their Honour and Conscience. The great Penetration and Knowledge of Men, peculiar to this Prince, made him, sooner than others, discover the Cloven-foot of the Author: This he thought fit to communicate to his Brother, and to warn him to be on his Guard against so dangerous a Man. This the good Christian Bishop could never forgive; *Manet alta Mente repostum*. But for his Injustice to the Duke of *York*, no tolerable Reason can be surmis'd; that Prince loaded him with Favours,

Favours, and never disoblig'd him; had the Goodness to protect him, and take his part, when all Men of Honour had abandon'd him. Nor was this all, would have employ'd his Interest to have got him Preferment; to all which Bounties we have seen the impious Return that he has made. As we cannot account for this Conduct, we must have recourse to the Accidents in Nature, who is sometimes irregular, and produces monstrous Minds, as well as Bodies.

P. 273, He gives us the Reason of his wonderful Esteem for Dr. Leighton. *Leighton was the only Person among the Bishops who declar'd for these Methods.* In the next Page he gives you the Particulars. *He propos'd, that the Church should be govern'd by the Bishops and their Clergy mixing together in the Church Judicatory, in which the Bishop should act only as a President, and be determin'd by a Majority of the Presbyters, both in Matters of Jurisdiction and Ordination. And that the Presbyterians should be allow'd, when they sat down first in these Judicatories, to declare, that their sitting under a Bishop was submitted to by them only for Peace sake with a Reservation of their Opinion, with relation to any such Presidency; and that no negative Vote should be claim'd by the Bishop. That Bishop's should go to the Churches, in which such as*
were

were to be ordain'd were to serve, and hear and discuss any Exceptions that were made to them, and ordain them with the Concurrence of the Presbytery. That such as were to be ordain'd should have Leave to declare their Opinion, if they thought the Bishop was only the Head of the Presbyters. And he also proposed that there should be provincial Synods, to sit in Course every third Year, or oftner, if the King should summon them; in which Complaints of the Bishops should be receiv'd, and they should be censur'd accordingly. The Laws that settled Episcopacy, and the Authority of a national Synod, were to be alter'd according to this Scheme. The Author has told us before, that Leighton consulted him in all these Matters: So that according to this *Leightonian* and **Burnettian** Scheme, Episcopacy was to be melted down into the Dregs of Presbytery. This would have been a noble Hierarchy, indeed, where the Bishop was a perfect Cypher, without the Authority of a present Moderator in the General Assemblies. The obliging them to go to the Place of Ordination in the respective Parishes, was a little severe; especially in our Author, who would not allow the *Scotch* Bishops the use of Coaches. As we must suppose them generally old Men, and liable to the Infirmities of Age, Gout, or Stone, which might have prevented their being able to ride on Horse-

Horse-back, they must have been forc'd to have walk'd on Foot to every Ordination in a large Diocess; this would have been a fine Employment for poor old Men. After this Account, which he has given in this posthumous Work, the Reader will be very much surpriz'd to hear, that this very Author absolutely deny'd this Story of his Friend *Leighton* above fifty Years ago; by which we may see, that his whole Life has been one uninterrupted Scene of Disingenuity, and how little we can depend on the Credit of a Man, who will say and unsay the very same things, according as his present Views and Interest led him. The reverend and learned Dr. *Hicks*, whose Probity was unexceptionable, has given us the following Account of this Infincerity, in a Discourse on Dr. *Burnet*, &c. above thirty Years past: *It was upon the Score of Latitudinarianism and mystical Devotion, that he lov'd to extol Dr. Leighton, tho', by some Canons he has cited in his History of the Rights of Princes, he was an Usurper of the See of Glasgow*——His admir'd Dr. *Leighton* was so great a Libertine in Comprehension, that he freely offer'd to transact all things in the Government of the Church, with his Presbyters, by plurality of Suffrages; strictly speaking, as if he were no more than a Presbyter among them. Archbishop *Burnet*, into whose Chair he intruded, told Doctor

Gun-

Gunning, Bishop of Ely, this Story of his Intruder; and he wondring, that any Bishop should give up that Power, without which he could not act as a Bishop, asked Dr. Burnet the truth of it, which he positively deny'd; This Denyal of his, oblig'd the good Archbishop for his Vindication, to refer Bishop Gunning to a Book he had left with a Friend, for the Truth of what he had told him of the comprehensive Latitude of Dr. Leighton. I saw the Book, and remember it was printed at Glasgow, and it so fully satisfy'd the Bishop, that he took it home with him; but before he went, made some Reflections on the Ingenuity of Dr. Burnet.

IN the following Pages, the Author gives a long Account of the Indulgence granted by the Government to the Scotch Presbyterians, and of the brutal Ingratitude of these People, who would not accept the Favours offer'd, but flew in the Face of Authority. Their Conduct on this Occasion was so extravagant, by his own Confession, as to justify any future Severity in the Administration towards a Set of Men, who could not deserve that Quarter which they would not take.

P. 301, He relates the Arrival of the Dutchess of Orleans in England; as to her Design in taking this Journey he gives this
Ac-

Account: *The King's Sister, the Dutches of Orleans, was thought the wittiest Woman in France. The King of France had made love to her, with which she was highly incens'd, when she saw it was only a Pretence to cover his Addresses to Mademoiselle La Valiere, one of her Maids of Honour, whom he declar'd afterwards openly to be his Mistress: Yet she had reconcil'd herself to the King, and was now so entirely trusted by him, that he order'd her to propose an Interview with her Brother at Dover. The King went thither, and was so much charm'd with his Sister, that every thing she propos'd, and every Favour she ask'd, was granted, the King could deny her nothing. She propos'd an Alliance in order to the Conquest of Holland. The King had a Mind to have begun at home; but she diverted him from that. It could not be foreseen, what Difficulties the King might meet with upon the first opening the Design: As it would alarm all his People, so it would send a great deal of Wealth and Trade, and, perhaps, much People over to Holland; and by such an Accession they would grow stronger as he would grow weaker. So she propos'd that they should begin with Holland, and attack it vigorously, both by Sea and Land; and by their Success in that, all the rest would be an easy Work. This Account of that Negotiation was printed twelve Tears after at Paris, by one Abbot Primi.*

No Body can believe that the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, let her Errand be what it will, brought over any Papers of Inſtructions, that might be ſuppos'd to paſs thro' Offices; what ſhe had to ſay was by Word of Mouth; and how any one could pretend to know what paſs'd between her and her Brother in his Cloſet, is a little difficult to conceive. The Author acknowledges to have no other Vouchers, but what he read in a Libel printed at *Paris* twelve Years afterward, and written by a ſcandalous *French Abbé*, who was flung into a Dungeon for making this Story. But not content to make this Princeſs an Enemy to her native Country, to gratify his Itch of telling Stories, he barbarouſly attacks the Honour of ſo great a Woman, and makes her a common Proſtitute; and this upon no other Foundation than a Hearſay; he had it from one, who had it from another, who was well inform'd of the Matter. Without a better Authority, a Man of common Probity, would not take away the Reputation of an Oyſter-Woman; eſpecially not go out of his way to injure any one that might be innocent, by thus impertinently, by Head and Shoulders, hawling in a Story foreign to his Book, if it had been never ſo true. Without regard to the illuſtrious Blood in her Veins, he cruelly worries the Memory of a Daughter of *England*, Siſter to two of our Kings, and Aunt

to his Benefactors, King WILLIAM, Queen MARY, and Queen ANNE. Nor have foreign Crowns a less Share of the Affront, two of the principal Thrones of *Europe* being at this Day fill'd from the Loins of this Princess. The Story itself, which I am ashamed to repeat, is so ridiculous and improbable, so very extravagant, and like a little *French* Novel, that no Man of good Sense can believe it. After this, what must we think of an Author, who thus rakes in the Dung-hills of Scandal, for Matter to supply his unextinguishable Hatred to the Royal Family?

HE now proceeds to the second *Dutch* War in this Reign, where he continues his implacable Malice to the Duke of *York*; for want of Truth to asperse and lessen that Prince, this unknowing Man, unluckily censures the most gallant Action of his Life, and that which confirm'd the Opinion of his personal Courage in all Mankind, who are the least competent Judges of these Matters. By his own Words, the Reader will best see the Injustice of this Reflection. P. 323. *De Ruyter disabled the Ship in which the Duke was, whom some blam'd for leaving his Ship too soon; then his personal Courage began first to be call'd in question.* The Author, when he says that this was the first time that his Courage was call'd in question, forgets the Pains that he took to make the
World

World believe, that the Duke order'd Sail to be slacken'd by Night, in the preceeding War. But to return to the present Affair; the Duke's Ship was so disabled, that she lay a Wreck on the Water, upon which he went into the Boat; and tho' all about him most earnestly intreated, that he would strike his Flag, he would not consent; his Courage surmounted his Prudence; he display'd his Colours, and with a triumphant Bravery insulted the Foe in his Cockboat; this distinguish'd him to be there in Person, and expos'd him to the incessant Fire from the whole Line of the Enemy, who endeavour'd to sink him; but by a happy Temerity he pass'd thro' them all, got on board a fresh Ship, where he hoisted his Flag, restor'd the Fight, and renew'd his Dangers. Whereas, if he had continu'd in the disabled Ship, he would have been tow'd out of the Battle, and falling back behind the Line, have remain'd in perfect Safety. Whether the Ignorance or Malice of this Reflection is greater, let the World judge.

THE Author has, in several Places of his Book, tax'd King CHARLES with Coldness and Neglect of the Prince of *Orange's* Interests in *Holland*; but he now forgets himself, and gives us a contrary Account. P. 324. *They sent two Embassadors, Dickvelt and Halewyn, to join with Borel, who was still*

in England, to try if it was possible to divide England from France; and the Morning in which they were dispatch'd away, they had secret Powers given them to treat concerning the Prince of Orange's being their Stadtholder; for Lord Arlington had so often reproach'd Borel for not doing it, that he in all his Letters continued still to press that on them, &c. Notwithstanding my Lord *Arlington* was one of the corrupt Ministers, according to the Author's Character, yet we see that he had always strenuously press'd to have the Stadtholdership for the Prince of *Orange*; by which it is evident, that the King was not so very remiss in the Interests of his Nephew, as it has been often insinuated by this Writer.

P. 238, After plentifully railing at Duke *Lauderdale*, he says, *I soon grew so weary of the Court, tho' there was scarce a Person so well used by him as my self was, that I went out of Town.* How far this good Usage, and his Gratitude to that Nobleman, on whom he has made Reflections foreign to an Historian are consistent, we leave the World to judge. But his Spight to the Wife was not less than that to the Husband. He has, in the next Page, painted the Dutches of *Lauderdale* in Colours not the most advantageous; tho' I have seen a Copy of Verses written at this very time by Dr. *Bur-*

Burnet, who had then it seems other Sentiments for that great Lady : The Flattery was as gross and fulsome, as the Poetry was wretched ; so very mean, that a common School-Boy wou'd have been asham'd to have own'd it : Tho' there was nothing but Angel in every Line, it is possible, that she was not so fair as the Poet wou'd make her, nor so foul as the Historian describes her. It is highly probable, that the Sincerity of the Author was equal in both Capacities.

P. ibid. I was sent for, and continued in such high Favour, that I was again try'd if I would accept of a Bishoprick, and was promised the first of the two Archbishopricks that should fall : But I was still fix'd in my former Resolutions not to engage early, being then but nine and twenty, &c. For this we have only his bare Word ; I would not prejudice or influence the Reader ; but for my own Part, I have so much a stronger Opinion of his Ambition than Modesty, that I must own I cannot believe him,





REMARKS

Historical and Critical :

BOOK III.



HE begins his third Book with describing the Situation of Affairs at the Meeting of the Parliament in Seventy-three. At this time the King was in very ill Circumstances ; he was engag'd in a War, and wanted Money to support it. His Ministers had put him upon two Projects, which were both thought illegal by his People : The first was the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, without Consent of Parliament : This was dispensing with the Laws. The other was, issuing Writs out of Chancery for electing Mem-

REMARKS on Bp. Burnet. 183

Members in the vacant Boroughs, during the Intervals of Parliament: This had been the ancient Custom; but the House of Commons having got Possession of this Right, would not let go their Title of Prescription. My Lord *Shaftsbury*, who was now at the Head of the Ministry, was the chief Adviser in both these irregular Steps. Let us see the Author's Account. *P. 346. The Money was exhausted, so it was necessary to have a Session of Parliament; and one was call'd in the Beginning of the Year. At the Opening of it, the King excus'd the issuing out the Writs, as done to save time, and to have a full House at their first Opening; but he left that Matter wholly to them. He spoke of the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience in another Stile: He said he had seen the good Effects of it, and that he would stick to it and maintain it. He said, he was engag'd in a War for the Honour of the Nation; and therefore he demanded the Supplies necessary to carry it on. On these Heads, Lord Shaftsbury enlarg'd; but no part of his Speech was more amazing than that, speaking of the War with the Dutch, he said, Delenda est Carthago; yet while he made a base complying Speech, in favour of the Court and of the War, he was in a secret Management with another Party, Hard Fate of Princes! they must see with other Mens Eyes, and yet be responsible for*

other Men's Faults. Necessity obliges them to make use of subservient Agents, who, when thro' Imprudence or Design, they have embarrass'd their Masters, to escape the rising Storm, tack about in time, and make their Peace with the People at the Expence of the injur'd Sovereign. These two Efforts were the only Actions that look any thing arbitrary in the Reign of King CHARLES II; both these Pretensions he soon surrender'd to the Remonstrances of his People; which Consideration should have induced our Author, to have been a little more just to the Character of this Prince, whom his own Confession allows to have been so basely betray'd.

P. 348. It had been much debated in the Cabinet what the King should do: Lord Clifford and Duke Lauderdale were for the King's standing his Ground. Sir Ellis Leighton assur'd me, that the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Berkley offer'd the King, that if he would bring the Army to Town, that they would take out of both Houses the Members that made the Opposition. He fancied that the Thing might easily be brought about; and that if the King would have acted with the Spirit that he sometimes put on, they might have carried their Business. Duke Lauderdale talk'd of bringing the Army out of Scotland, &c. If this is true, it is a sufficient Justification of

of King CHARLES, and acquits him from the repeated Accusations of the Author in regard to his arbitrary Designs. By his Refusal to follow this wicked Advice, it is plain, that he never had such Intentions when no Opportunity could tempt, and no Necessity force him, tho' the Thing was practicable, to make any Attempt on the Liberties of his People. This is the Burden of the Song in the Author's constant Charge against this Prince, as if it were a Crime to be ill advis'd, and no Virtue to reject the evil Council.

P. 354. *Lord Sunderland was a Man of a clear and ready Apprehension.——*
He had the Dexterity of insinuating himself so intirely into so great a Degree of Confidence with three succeeding Princes, who set up on different Interests, &c. Two of these Princes must be King CHARLES and King JAMES, who were both Papists; the one secret, according to our Author, the other avow'd; and, if we can believe him, had both the same constant, settled, uniform Design of introducing Popery: How came they then to set up on different Interests? This is a manifest Inconsistency; and shews how necessary it is for Writers to keep within the Paths of Truth; when once they wander, led by no other Guide than their Passions, they soon lose their Way, are bewil-

wilder'd in the Mazes of Error, and plunge into the greatest Absurdities.

IN the following Pages, he entertains his Reader with very advantagious Accounts of himself, in which his Vanity is insupportable; the King and the Duke consult him as an Oracle, not only in his own Profession, but even in Politicks; no Body could give them Accounts of *Scotland* but Dr. *Burnet*, when they had so many abler Men, on whose Capacity they could better rely, as well as Integrity. The King by his Praises raises him Envy; and the Duke of *Buckingham* falls in love with him, as soon as ever he saw his Face. This Vanity is always attended by a certain Weakness and Impotence of Mind; when a Man is conceited so much of his own Merit, he will have but a tolerable Opinion of his Neighbours; for whoever is always commending himself, will seldom speak well of others.

P. 359. I carried a Volume of *Judge Crook's* to him (Duke of York) in which it is reported, that King James had once in Council complain'd of a Slander cast on him, as if he was inclin'd to change his Religion; and had solemnly vindicated himself from the Imputation; and pray'd, that if any should spring out of his Loins, that should maintain any other Religion, than that which he maintain'd and profess'd,
that

that God would take him out of the World. He read it; but it made no Impression. And when I urg'd him with some things in his Father's Book, he gave me the Account of it that was formerly mention'd. If this Account given by Judge Crook is true, it acquits that Prince from all this Author's slanderous Insinuations of his being inclin'd to Popery. But there are certain Men in the World, who, tho' in their Principles as to Religion, they have no great Opinion of the Efficacy either of Prayers, or Curses, yet to serve a turn, and blast the Royal Family in the Opinion of the World; as if the Posterity of this Prince were abandon'd by Heaven upon this Malediction of their Ancestor, with Vehemence support this Story, and are very angry if you will not believe them, while the same Men the very next Moment with equal Warmth will strenuously assert that King JAMES I. was a Papist, not reflecting on the Unnaturalness of the Absurdity, in making a Man angry with others, for being of the same Opinion with himself. The Book he mentions is the famous *Ἐικὼν Βασιλικὴ* written by King CHARLES I. In the Beginning of this posthumous Work, Dr. Burnet has been pleas'd to tell us, that in a Conversation with the Duke of York, that Prince assur'd him that the *Ἐικὼν Βασιλικὴ* was not written by the King his Father, but by Dr. Gauden. . This Story, improbable

ble as it is, I let then pass uncontradicted ; being satisfy'd, that Dr. *Wagstaff* had so undeniably prov'd the Right of the King to that Book, against his Antagonist Mr. *Toland*, that no Man of common Ingenuity could doubt it. But since he thinks fit to renew and confirm the same Tale, we shall be oblig'd to discuss the Probability of this secret History ; how unlikely it is that the Duke shou'd tell him this Story. CHARLES the 2d, in the Year 1660, granted his Letters Patents for printing his Father's Works, on which Occasion, this Book is mentioned by Name, and asserted to be compos'd by the King. Afterward King JAMES in the Year 1685, granted a new Patent for printing the same Works, in which *Εικὼν Βασιλική* is included. I must desire the Reader to take Notice, that this was long after all Correspondence had been broken between the Duke and the Doctor, who now, without any Provocation, had flown in his Face, and began to make open War upon him ; So that whatever Conversation had past between them, must have been before his Accession to the Throne, and long before the Grant of this last Patent. After this, it is a little hard to believe, that this unfortunate Prince, with all his Faults, should be guilty of so much Disingenuity, as to assert, under his Broad-Seal, for a Truth, what he had deny'd before to Dr. *Burnet* ; and if to him,

him, probably to many others; this is unlike the Character which the Author has given himself of this Prince, whom in his private Capacity, as to his Morals, he has made an honest and sincere Man; and in this Case, he cou'd have no Interest of State or Religion to impose on the World. But why did not Dr. **Burnet** declare this Matter to Mankind, during the Life of King JAMES? If he had not been afraid of being contradicted, it is highly probable, that we should have heard this Story long before; that Prince having surviv'd the Loss of his Crown near 13 Years, the Author had all that time to have said what he pleased, in regard to him, with Impunity. If there were no other Argument, the Book it self bespeaks the Author; no Man could so naturally, so movingly express those Sufferings, but he who had felt them. As to Dr. *Gauden*, the Bishop allows himself, that his other Performances were very much inferior to the Excellencies of that Book. If he then, who is the only Person pretended, was not the Author, why not the King, who has all the moral Certitude, all the Proofs and Presumptions on his Side, that the Nature of the Thing, at this distance of Time, will admit? Without any Disparagement to Dr. *Gauden*, he had no more the Capacity to have written this Book, than probably the Fortitude to have born the
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Sufferings which those divine Meditations lament. It is no Wonder, that the Party who murder'd this Prince, should be ashamed to have the World believe, that a Man, whom they had so inhumanly treated, was adorn'd with so many Virtues, and able so well to defend his Innocence. After all, by this Story, Dr. **Burnet** will have the Honour to be join'd with Mr. *Toland*, in depreciating the Memory of King CHARLES I. This will naturally give the uncharitable Part of the World a Handle to believe, that the good Bishop was not absolutely averse to some other extraordinary Principles of that worthy Man, his Colleague. But this is not the only Injustice done daily to the Memory of CHARLES I. Nothing can be more astonishing, than the unextinguishable Malice of some Men, who not satisfy'd with the Blood of that Prince, take all Occasions to murder his Reputation, and react on his Memory the Cruelty of the Regicides to his Person; by this they contract a Share of the Crime, and perpetuate the Vengeance as well as the Guilt; while by thus disturbing the venerable Ashes of the Royal Martyr, whom they will not let rest in his Grave, they add their own Sacrilege to the execrable Parricide of their impious Ancestors.

P. 360, he gives us a fresh Instance of his wonderful Modesty. *He* (i. e. *Sir Ellis Leigh*-

Leighton) prest me to improve my present Advantage, to the making my Fortune: The See of Durham was then vacant; and he was confident it would be no hard Matter for me to compass it. But I had none of those Views, and so was not mov'd by them. In refusing an Archbishoprick in Scotland, the Doctor shew'd his Contempt of Dignity, as now of Riches. This is a Modesty not to be equalled in these latter degenerate Ages, we must go back to the primitive Times, to find such a great Example of Humility and Self-denial. The See of *Durham*, consider'd in all respects, perhaps is the best in *England*; and we should have had more reason to believe him in this Point, if he had not condescended to accept a much worse, inferior in every respect, both in Revenue and Dignity, as soon as he could get it. Thus the most aspiring and ambitious of Men, sets up for a Pattern of the opposite Virtues. As to this Story, it is my firm Opinion, that there is not one Man in *England* believes him.

P. 379, he brings us to that famous Affair which made so much Noise, his Accusation of Duke *Lauderdale* before the House of Commons. Here the Author, thro' a visible Consciousness, endeavours to palliate so vile an Action. Let us hear what he can say for himself. *The House of Commons fell upon*

upon Duke Lauderdale; and those who knew what had pass'd between him and me, mov'd that I should be examin'd before a Committee. I was brought before them. I told them how I had been commanded out of Town. But tho' that was illegal, yet since it had been let fall, it was not insisted on. I was next examin'd concerning his Design of arming the Irish Papists. I said, I, as well as others, heard him say, he wish'd the Presbyterians in Scotland would rebel, that he might bring over the Irish Papists to cut their Throats. I was next examin'd concerning the Design of bringing a Scottish Army into England. I desir'd to be excus'd as to what had pass'd in private Discourse, to which I thought I was not bound to answer, unless it were High-Treason. They press'd me long, and I would give them no other Answer. So they all concluded that I knew great Matters, and reported this specially to the House. Upon that I was sent for, and brought before the House. I stood upon it as I had done at the Committee, that I was not bound to answer; that nothing had pass'd that was High-Treason; and as to all other Things, I did not think my self bound to discover them. I said farther, I knew Duke Lauderdale was apt to say Things in a Heat, which he did not intend to do; and since he had used my self so ill, I thought my self the more oblig'd, not to say any thing that look'd like Revenge, for what I had met with from him. I was brought four times to the Bar. At last I was

was told, the House thought that they had a Right to examine into every Thing that concerned the Safety of the Nation, as well as into Matters of Treason: And they look'd on me as bound to satisfy them: Otherwise they would make me feel the Weight of their heavy Displeasure, as one that conceal'd what they thought was necessary to be known. Upon this I yielded, and gave an Account of the Discourse formerly mention'd. They laid great Weight on this, and renewed their Address against Duke Lauderdale.

THIS is his Account of the Fact; we will next see what he says in his own Defence. I was much blam'd for what I had done. Some to make it look the worse, added, that I had been his Chaplain, which was false; and that I had been much obliged to him, tho' I had never receiv'd any real Obligation from him, but had done him great Services, for which I had been very unworthily requited. Yet the Thing had an ill Appearance, as disclosing what had pass'd in Confidence; tho' I made it a very great Question how far even that ought to bind a Man, when the Designs are very wicked, and the Person continued still in the same Post and Capacity of executing them. I have told the Matter as it was, and must leave my self to the Censure of
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the Reader. My Love to my Country, and private Friendships carried me perhaps too far ; especially since I had declar'd against Clergy-Mens meddling in secular Affairs, and yet had run my self so deep in them. This is all he can say for himself; but, before we examine his Defence of the Fact, we must take notice how grossly he contradicts himself. Some few Pages before, he told us how well he was treated by Duke *Lauderdale* ; and that he offered him the first Arch-Bishoprick that should fall ; tho' now he asserts that he had no Obligation to that great Minister. Whether he is just in this Assertion or no, let all the Clergy in *England* judge. For a private Man, who had at this time no great Preferment, if any, to be not only offer'd, but press'd to accept the most eminent Station and Dignity in the Church, would have been thought a very great Obligation by any Man, except Doctor *Burnet*.

As the Reputation of the Author will intirely stand or fall by a just and fair Decision of this Matter, I shall be very tender of doing him wrong, for which Reason, I have given the Reader his whole Defence. Before we can be competent Judges of this Case, it will be necessary to enquire into the Circumstances of Time, as well as the Motives of the Information. It is certain
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in all Conspiracies against a Government, if there is a form'd Design, ready to be put in Execution immediately ; if the Dagger is at the Throat of the Prince, or Magistrate, and nothing can prevent the Blow, but a timely Discovery ; in such an Exigency all Considerations must vanish ; Wife and Children, Friends, all Obligations tho' never so strong, must be sacrific'd to the publick Safety. But this was not the Author's Case ; some of the Words were spoken in Passion, by his own Acknowledgement, without the Appearance of any Design ; and all was past two Years before the Discovery. In the Case of Words, the Wisdom of our Laws has allotted a certain Number of Days for Information ; ——— after which, any Accusation shall be deem'd malicious, and judg'd to proceed from some intervening Resentment : But here had been a long Interval of Time, during which, the Author had maintain'd the same Habit of Life in Regard to Duke *Lauderdale*, with the same Professions of Service and Friendship ; nor was this all, he dedicated a Book to him entitl'd, *A Vindication of the Laws, &c.* In this Dedication the Flattery is daub'd so thick as to turn the Reader's Stomach : He tells his Patron ; *How worthily he bore that great Character, ———* praises him for *the long and uninterrupted Tranquillity that Kingdom had enjoy'd under his wise and*
O 2 *happy*

happy Conduct ; ——— he acknowledges, the particular Engagements by which he was obliged to him ; that it was not fit for him to express the Sense of them, for fear he should seem to flatter him. At last he tells the Duke, that from him alone they expected a happy Settlement. All this to a Man, in whom he had discover'd so nefarious a Design as the enslaving and Destruction of his Country, which is one Kind of Parricide. Conscious of all this, when he design'd to turn Informer, he rightly judg'd, that it would discredit his Evidence, to have all these authentick Proofs of his Insincerity brought against him ; upon which, he resolv'd to stifle this Dedication if possibly he could ; being justly asham'd, that the World should see what Incense he had offer'd to that very Man, whom now he was going to sacrifice. The learned Doctor Hicks, who liv'd at this Time, and was an Eye Witness of these Transactions, has given many Years ago an Account of this Management, the Knowledge of which will instruct the Reader. Not long after printing this Book at Glascow, he brought a great Part of the Impression to London, where he sold it to Mr. Moses Pit ; and not long after he came to him, to desire him with great Earnestness to sell the Copies of it without the Dedication ; for by this time the Duke had fallen out with him, and discarded him, for some Arts

Arts and Qualities he had observ'd in him, which I need not name. Mr. Pitt gave him very good Reasons, why he ought not to do so; and particularly told him, he could not honestly sell an imperfect for a perfect Copy. Upon which he was angry, and threaten'd him with the Loss of all the Favours he intended to do him in his Trade. This Mr. Pitt can testify, if he is living; if not, it can be attested by an honourable Person, who heard him solicit Mr. Pitt to this base and unworthy Practice. But tho' Mr. Pitt would not consent to sell the Books without the Dedication, yet he was content to let him have them again; and so they came abroad without it; and so hard it was, 'till it was privately reprinted, to get one single Copy with it, that I profess I could never get such a one, 'till a Gentleman presented me with one out of his private Study: And when he had delated his Patron to the House of Commons, Sir A. Forrester, his Grace's Secretary, told me, that after the utmost Diligence he could get but one single Copy with the Dedication, tho' he would have purchas'd more at any rate, to have shewn the Gentlemen of the honourable House, what Kind of Man the Evidence was, that would publish such things in Commendation of the Duke, after he knew, as he pretended, that he had a Design of bringing an Army out of Scotland, for the spoiling and subduing of England.

Discovery of this Dedication, and his suppressing it, coming to be known, made the House curious to see it; and he foreseeing what Use would be made of it against him, was willing to decline this noble Undertaking; but the House by the Interest of the Duke's Friends, who increas'd on this Discovery, made him testify what he since says created Horror in him; and how much Reputation he got by it I need not tell the World. This is the just and true Account of his Conduct, for which, all Circumstances consider'd, no manner of Excuse can be made. The first Part of his Evidence related to Conversation at the Duke's Table: This was a Breach of Hospitality, whose Laws being reciprocal, may be violated by the Guest, as well as the Master of the House. The same Word *Hospes* in *Latin* signifies both the Guest and the Landlord. The other Part being what had pass'd in a Cabinet, and under a Seal no less strong than that of Confession, was certainly the highest Breach of Trust, mutual Confidence, and every thing that is sacred between Man and Man. After this, next to acting the Part itself, a Man of Honour should have been very tender of keeping the Actor company. The Pretence, that he was forc'd by the Parliament, will bear no Manner of Weight; if he had not given the Intimation, the House would never have known that he had any thing to say against Duke
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Lauderdale. In short, the first Discovery of the Secret was the Crime, and made the Delator responsible for every Consequence.

By p. 382, we may guess at his Principles, and plainly see what a fine Churchman we had in Dr. **Burnet**. Speaking of Sir *Harbottle Grimstone's* second Lady, he gives her this Character: *She had all the high Notions for the Church and the Crown, in which she had been bred; but was the humblest, devoutest, and best temper'd Person I ever knew of that Sort.* Here he makes it a kind of Miracle, for a Woman well principl'd to the Crown and the Church, to have Humility, Devotion, or any good Temper. The Tory Ladies, who are infinitely the greater Part of the Nation, and not more considerable for their Numbers than Beauty, are very much oblig'd to the good Bishop; but perhaps he met with some Repulses from one Sort, and found the other more kind and better temper'd.

P. 389. *For as our main Business lay in preparing for, or managing a Session of Parliament.* Who would not suppose, when he reads this Sentence, that some Minister of State, or at least a great leading Man in the House of Commons, was talking at this Rate? But when he is told,
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first, that the Person was not an *Englishman*, and no more than the Chaplain to the Master of the *Rolls*, what a Contempt must he have of the little Insect? In this he contradicts what he told us a few Pages before, that upon his Disgrace on Account of Duke *Lauderdale's* Affair, he retreated to his Post at the *Rolls*, where he apply'd himself to his Function and Studies, with which publick Affairs and Intrigues of State are very incompatible.

P. 392. After giving a tolerable Character of Dr. *Compton*, he concludes with his old Reserve: *But with these good Qualities Compton was a weak Man, willful, and strangely wedded to a Party.* If the Reader should not readily apprehend what Party he means, it was the Church of *England*, to whom he never forgot his near Relation. It is strange, that a Bishop of *London* should be so unlike a Bishop of *Salisbury*.

THE Author's Character of Archbishop *Sancroft*, in the same Page, is not unworthy of Observation. *Sancroft Dean of Paul's, was rais'd to it. He was a Man of solemn Deportment, had a sullen Gravity in his Looks, and was considerably learned. He put on a monastick Strictness, and liv'd abstracted from Company. These Things, together with his living unmarried, and his being fixt*
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in the old Maxims of high Loyalty, and a superstitious valuing of little things, made the Court conclude, that he was a Man that might be entirely gain'd to serve all their Ends; or, at least, that he would be an unactive speculative Man, and give them little Opposition in any Thing that they might attempt, when they had more promising Opportunities. He was a dry cold Man, reserv'd and peevish; so that none lov'd him, and few esteem'd him; yet the High-Church Party was well pleas'd with his Promotion. He can mean nothing by all this Jargon, *Ends, Attempts, Opportunities, little Opposition, &c.* but his old Bugbear, Popery and arbitrary Power; and can pitch on no one more likely to introduce them, than the Man who sacrific'd his All to his Conscience. Such is the Character he gives of this great and good Man, for whom the whole Nation had once so profound a Respect and Reverence. As there is more meant and design'd in this Paragraph than the Words express, a short Comment will not be improper. When he gives him Gravity, he thinks fit to allay the Compliment with the Epithet Sullen; awful Gravity would have sounded as well, but that would have imprinted too much Respect for so high a Churchman; his monastick Strictness, and living without a Wife, seems a little out of the way, when he might have had three, if he could have kill'd them one after another
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with Kindness; but his greatest Fault was *his superstitious valuing* of little Things. These little Things were not only the Surplice and Cross in Baptism; but the Discipline, Ceremonies, Liturgy, Creeds, and all those Trifles. But the least thing of all, about which he was always so very peevish, was the Pale of the Church, which he would not break down to let in the Beasts of the Common.

P. 393. *As Lord Danby thus rais'd his Creatures in the Church, so he got all Men turn'd out of his Places that did not entirely depend on him; and went on in his Credit with the King, still assuring him that if he would leave things to his Conduct, he would certainly bring about the whole Cavalier Party to him; and such was the Corruption and Poverty of that Party, that had it not been that French and Popish Councils, were so visible in the whole course of our Affairs, he had very probably gain'd them to have rais'd the Kings Power, and to have extirpated the Dissenters; and to have brought things very near to the state they were in, in King CHARLES the first's time before the War.* If we can believe the unanimous Accounts of all Historians, there never was a greater Calm, nor a more visible Face of Prosperity, Plenty, Trade and Riches in *England*, than just before the Parliament sat in 40, after which immediately the Troubles began,

began, those fatal Seditions, rais'd by the restless Spirits of the Puritans, with a design to pull down the Throne and the Church, in which they succeeded at last. As he stigmatizes the only happy Days of this Reign, it is to be presum'd, that he was better pleas'd with the Scene, that follow'd, when the Crown and the Mitre lay both in the Dust.

P. 398. *Upon this Occasion, the Earl of Essex told me, that he knew the King did often take Money into his Privy Purse, to defraud his Exchequer; for he reckoned that what was carried thither, was not so much his own as his Privy Purse was. And Coventry told Lord Essex, that once there was a Plantation Cause at the Council Board; and he was troubled to see the King espouse the worst side; and upon that he went to him, and told him secretly, that it was a vile Cause which he was supporting, the King answer'd, that he had got good Money for doing it. Here is a second-hand hearsay; Coventry told Lord Essex, so that we have it at the third rebound from the Author; upon no better Grounds, he makes no scruple to vilify the Memory of this Prince, by so scandalous a Reflection on his Honour; but it is so unlikely a Story, that none but the prejudic'd will believe him. In the first place, King CHARLES was no Fool, and if we cou'd conceive that a great Prince cou'd*

cou'd be capable of so mean and base an Action, it is almost incredible, that he shou'd have no more Sense or Shame, but to tell it himself; as we cannot appeal to the Dead for the truth of this Matter, we have only to consider in this Case, whether the Improbability of the Fact it self, or the Credit of the Person who tells it, be greater.

P. 413. He mentions the famous Affair of *Mitchel* the Assassin; upon this Subject, he spends three or four Pages, which wou'd be too long to transcribe: I need only tell the Reader, that with a most inveterate Malice he charges Duke *Lauderdale*, my Lord *Rotbes*, and the Ministry with wilful Perjury, and makes the Privy Council of *Scotland* the greatest of Villains, in promising a Man a Pardon, and then denying that Promise on Oath. All that he has said in this Matter, was disprov'd at the Time, by many Answers written to confute these Calumnies, especially by Dr. *Hicks*, who was then Chaplain to Duke *Lauderdale*, to whose Treatise I refer the Reader, whom I will trouble with no other Justification, but that of Sir *George Mackenzy*, who was then in Employment upon the Spot, and a Witness of this Transaction. As this great Man has the Advantage in the Reputation of his Probity, as well as of being superior in Genius and Capacity to Dr. *Burnet*, he will

will be always believ'd before him. *Macenzie's Vindication*, P. 19. It is clamour'd that Mitchel the Assassin was executed after he had confess'd the Crime, upon promise of Life, to which it is answer'd, that Mitchel having upon the high Street of Edenburgh shot at the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with a design to murder him, he wounded the Bishop of Orkney with that Shot, of which he never recover'd; and being there after apprehended, he confess'd the Crime, but continu'd still to glory in it, and very famous Witnesses having depos'd, that Mitchel was upon a new Plot to kill the same Archbishop, Mitchel was brought to a Tryal; and his Defences were, that the Earl of Rothes, to whom he had confess'd it, had promis'd to save his Life, and that the Privy Council afterwards had promis'd the same. For clearing whereof, the said Earl, and all who were upon the Committee, together with all such Members of Council as he desir'd shou'd be cited, were fully examin'd upon all his Interrogatories, and the Registers of Council were produc'd; but not the least Mark of any promise was made to appear by either. So that nothing remain'd, but that the Lord High Chancellor, and Lords of the Privy Council, as they alledg'd, perjur'd themselves; and that the Registers of Council were vitiated. And how it is possible to imagine, that all this Villany was committed to take so inconsiderable a Fellow's Life, I leave the
World

World to judge. Sir George Mackenzy justly observes the Incredibility of this Story, from the Smallness of the Temptation, to commit such a Villany, as well as from the Reputation, and distinguish'd Characters of the Men. As if it were not more probable, that such a Miscreant, who had been capable of so nefarious an Attempt on the Life of an Archbishop, shou'd not sooner tell a Lie to save himself, than that an Archbishop, a Lord Chancellor, together with a Privy Council, and their Clerks, shou'd all conspire to sink and falsify Records, and then perjure themselves to take a Life of so little Consequence away.

P. 416. *Then said Duke Lauderdale, in an impious Jest, let Mitchel glorify God in the Grass Market.* Here he has not the Ingenuity to tell his Reader the Ground and Reason of this Expression, without which, this saying wou'd have been as silly, as profane. Upon *Mitchel's* Examination, being ask'd what induc'd him to make so wicked an Attempt upon the Person of the Archbishop, he reply'd, that he did it for the Glory of the Lord; for this Reason, afterward, when it was resolv'd to hang him, the Duke humorously said, *let Mitchel glorify God in the Grass Market.* By this trifling Reflection, with a design to make Duke *Lauderdale* both brutal and profane, he shews the Nature

Nature of the Man; the meaness of his Malice and thirst of Revenge, are as conspicuous in this little Slander, as in his more important and enormous Scandals.

P. ibid. Yet Duke Lauderdale had a Chaplain, Hicks afterward Dean of Worcester, who publish'd a false and partial Relation of this Matter, in order to the justifying of it. It is no Wonder that he has a fling at Dr. Hicks, who has so much oblig'd the Publick in detecting the Prevarications, Insincerity, and shameful Practices of this Author on several Occasions. Whoever is acquainted with the true Character of that learned, great, and good Man, knows that he was as incapable on any consideration, of asserting a Falshood, as the Man who reviles him of speaking Truth, whenever he is hurried by his prædominant Passion to gratify his Revenge at the Expence of his Integrity.

P. ibid. What Sharp did now to preserve himself from such Practices, was probably that which both in the just Judgment of God, and the enflam'd Fury of wicked Men, brought him two Years after to such a dismal End. Here with a Rashness equal to his Want of Charity, he impiously enters into the Secrets of Providence, and makes the Judgments of God attend on his Resentments.
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So great a Divine shou'd have consider'd, that Afflictions, Persecution, and often Death by the Hands of the Unrighteous, are the Portion of the Just in this World: If there was a constant Retribution of Good and Evil, if wicked Men were always punish'd in this Life, it wou'd be better for some who have peaceably dy'd in their Beds; they might then have been Objects of human Justice, here below have expiated their Crimes, perhaps in the Boots of *Scotland*, and not have been wholly reserv'd for a more dreadful Tribunal.

P. 444. After having given an Account of the Popish Plot, which is not the most partial Part of his Book, he seems to deride the most plausible Part of the Story, and supports the greatest Absurdities. In this Account, he gives up *Oates* and *Bedlow* for most abandon'd Rogues; but at the same time, is more favourable to *Dugdale*, whose Character he supports, tho' he was a very vicious and immoral Man. P. 444. *This began to shake the Credit of the Evidence, when a more composed credible Person came in to support it; one Dugdale, that had been Lord Aston's Baylis, and liv'd in a fair Reputation in the Country, was put in Prison for refusing the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. He did then with many Imprecations deny that he knew of any Plot.* We will see what Mr. *Eachard*

Eachard says of this good Man in my Lord *Stafford's* Tryal. *Eachard*, p. 996.
“ Against *Dugdale* he produc'd Evidence,
“ that he was a Person of infamous Life;
“ that he had cheated the Lord *Aston* his
“ Master, and defrauded Workmen and
“ Servants of their Wages: That by his
“ Extravagancies and Misdemeanours, he
“ had run himself into several hundred
“ Pounds Debt, for which he was thrown
“ into Jayl, and despair'd of ever getting
“ out, but by making pretended Discover-
“ ies. In the next Place, that he had di-
“ rectly perjur'd himself in divers Parts and
“ Circumstances; as to Time and Place, in
“ this, and other Depositions. And further,
“ he prov'd, that he had endeavour'd to
“ suborn divers Persons to make false Oaths,
“ and so to strengthen his own, by other
“ Men's Perjuries. This entirely destroys
“ the Character of *Dugdale*, as to his
“ being a credible Person, and a Man of
“ Reputation in the Country where he
“ liv'd; but if this is not sufficient, the
“ Author himself, by and by, shall do Mr.
Dugdale's Business. When this Evidence
afterward tack'd about, and swore against
the other side in the Tryal of *College*,
this very Writer makes him as great a
Rogue, as an honest Man before. It is Pity
the Doctor had not sometimes more Me-
mory, and always less Partiality. But a
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Metaphysical Distinction of ~~Four~~ **One** will easily solve this Matter, by dividing the Person into two Capacities; the honest Man swore against the Papists, and the Rogue against the Protestant Joyner, which very much alter'd the Case.

P. 447. Berry declar'd himself a Protestant, and that tho' he had chang'd his Religion for fear of losing his Place, yet he had still continued to be one in his Heart. He said he look'd on what had befallen him, as a just Judgment of God for that Dissimulation: He deny'd the whole Matter charg'd on him: He seem'd to prepare himself seriously for Death; and to the last Minute he affirm'd that he was altogether innocent. Dr. Lloyd attended him, and was much persuaded of his Sincerity. Prance swore nothing against him, but that he assisted in the Fact, and in carrying about the dead Body. So Lloyd reckon'd that those things being done in the Night, Prance might have mistaken him for some other Person, who might be like him, considering the Confusion that so much Guilt might have put him in. He therefore believ'd that Prance had sworn rashly with relation to him, &c. The Author forgot to put on his considering Cap when he averr'd, that Prance swore nothing against him, but that he assisted in the Fact, and
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in carrying about the dead Body. What possibly cou'd the most guilty do more? By assisting in the Fact, he was a Principal in the Murder, as well as an Accessary in aiding to dispose of the Body; tho' the Law makes no Distinction in this Case. Afterwards speaking of Dr. *Lloyd*, the Author asserts, *that he did nothing in it, but what became his Profession.* The Doctor certainly was under some Absence of Mind when he told this Story of his Friend Dr. *Lloyd*, and did not consider how much he wou'd affect his Reputation by one Confession that he has made in this Account. *Berry* passionately desir'd to receive the Sacrament before he dy'd; this was refus'd by Dr. *Lloyd*, who upon repeated Denyals, was cited by the poor Man in the Agony of his Soul, to answer it at the Day of Judgment. The only Pretence that cou'd be given for this Inhumanity, was, that the Doctor being firmly convinc'd of his Guilt, wou'd not let him Shipwreck his Soul, by denying his Crime with so much Solemnity. But Dr. *Burnet* intirely destroys this Excuse, by asserting that his Friend was perswaded of his Penitent's Innocence. If so, nothing can excuse a Parochial Priest in not knowing his Duty better, than to deny to a dying Man in a State of Repentance for all his Sins, the Comfort of the blessed

Sacrament. This wou'd induce a Man to believe that another Reason, which was given at the Time for this Refusal, was the true one, *viz.* That the Doctor thought it might a little impair the Credit of the Plot, to have a dying Protestant on the Sacrament assert his Innocence. If Dr. **Burnet** had told this Story, he cou'd not have affirm'd that his Friend had behav'd as became his Profession. But in this Case, he exceeded his own Maxim in his Book on *Varillas*, which was to touch gently the failings of his Friends; but here, to use his own Words, *the Bias was so strong*, he has thought fit not to mention them at all; tho' he cou'd not possibly forget this Part of the Story, which made so much Noise at the Time, and gave so great a Scandal, the refusing to a dying Man, from whom was going to be taken away all that was dearest in this World, the only comfortable Viaticum in his Journey to the next. As this refusal of the Sacrament to *Berry* unless he would confess his Crime, was a Matter of Fact notoriously known, if what Dr. **Burnet** says, is true, that Dr. *Floyd* at the Same time believ'd him not guilty; he gives us a strange Idea of a Reverend Divine, who contrary to the Conviction of his Conscience, on a political View, would tempt a wretched Man under such Circumstances, to fling away his

his Soul in so solemn a manner, by a perjurious Renunciation of his own Innocence. It is impossible to avoid the Dilemma, either the Bishop of *Salisbury* has told us an Untruth, or the Parson of *St Martins* on this Occasion acted a Part, which I leave the Reader to name.

P. 470. When a Party of furious Men were riding thro' a Moor, near *St. Andrews*, they saw the Archbishop's Coach appear: He was coming from a Council Day, and was driving home: He had sent some of his Servants before him, to let them know he was coming; and others he had sent off on Compliments; so that there was no Horsemen about the Coach. They seeing this, concluded according to their frantick enthusiastick Notions, that God had now deliver'd up their greatest Enemy into their Hands: Seven of them made up to the Coach, while the rest were as Scouts riding all about the Moor. One of them fir'd a Pistol at him, which burnt his Coat and Gown, but did not go into his Body: Upon this, they fancied that he had a Magical Secret to secure him against a Shot; and they drew him out of his Coach, and murder'd him barbarously, repeating their Stroaks till they were sure he was quite dead; and so they got clear off, no Body happening to go cross the Moor all the While. This was the dismal End of that unhappy Man: It struck all People with Horror, and softn'd his Ene-

*mies into some Tenderneſs; ſo that his Memo-
ry was treated with Decency by thoſe who had
very little Reſpect for him during Life.*

THIS is the faint Account that he gives of one of the moſt atrocious and nefarious Actions that ever was perpetrated by the moſt wicked of Men. In this Relation he has disguis'd and falſify'd ſome of the Circumſtances, and conceal'd others very material, for fear his Reader ſhou'd be touch'd any more than himſelf; not daring plainly to excuſe ſo execrable a Murder, he wou'd palliate and leſſen the Horror of the Fact as much as he cou'd, by endeavouring to make it appear an accidental Rencounter with the Archbiſhop, and not a premeditated Deſign of the Ruſſians, which is contray to Truth; in order to impoſe this Notion on the Reader, he aſſerts a poſitive Falſhood, that there were none of the Servants about the Coach; this Circumſtance he believ'd wou'd make it look more caſual, as if they had laid hold on ſo fair an Opportunity of the Archbiſhop's being defenceleſs. But the printed Accounts publiſh'd at this time by Authority, aſſure us, that they had dog'd him the Day before, and enquir'd after him in the Village, where he lodg'd that Night; all this he induſtriouſly conceals, as well as ſome Circumſtances of the Fact, for fear he ſhou'd raiſe

too much Pity for the Murder'd, and too much Horror for the Murderers, whom neither the Grey Hairs of a venerable old Man, the Tears and Cryes of an innocent suppliant Virgin, wounded on her Knees in interceeding for her Father, nor the Charity of the Martyr in praying for his Murderers, cou'd touch with the least Remorse. Pity and Horror were the Passions to be rais'd on this Occasion; these are the Colours in which a good and honest Historian ought to have painted this execrable Scene of Violence: As it is his Duty to inform and instruct his Reader, to let him know what to shun, and what to imitate, to inflame him with a Love of Virtue, and arm him with a Detestation of Vice; whenever he fails in this Part of his Duty, by any manner of Disguise in the Fact, when he mentions any flagitious Action without setting it forth in its truest Light; he quits his censorial Dignity, and grows accessory to that Guilt, which he has not the Justice severely to condemn. When the Author says, *that his Memory when dead, was treated with Decency, by those who had very little Respect for him alive.* He must certainly except himself, who has neither treated him living nor dead with Decency, nor common Humanity. There is one Remark to be made, which must certainly make the Reader smile; this is

the first Time that he has given Dr. *Sharp* the Title of Archbishop, if I am not very much mistaken thro' the whole Book. But this Generosity cou'd not last long, he returns soon to his Vomit ; and as his Malice cou'd not be quench'd by the Death of this Martyr'd Prelate, he pursues him to the Grave, and takes his Leave of this injur'd Man with a general Reflection on his Character.

P. 471, *A Week after there was a great Field Conventicle held within ten Miles of Glasgow ; a Body of the Guards engag'd with them, and they made such vigorous Resistance, that the Guards having lost thirty of their Number, were forc'd to run for it. So the Conventicle form'd its self into a Body, and march'd to Glasgow. The Person that led them, had been bred by me, being a younger Son of Sir Thomas Hamilton, who had married my Sister, but by a former Wife.——Duke Lauderdale and his Party, Publish'd every where, that this Rebellion was headed by a Nephew of mine, whom I had prepar'd for such a Work, when he was in my Hands. Here was a fair Opportunity for the Doctor to have vindicated himself from this Slander of his Enemies, by only saying that he had given him better Instructions. But since Silence is always adjudg'd to give Consent, we must join in Opinion with Duke Lauderdale, that the Pupil was not unworthy the Tutor. Here*
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in Justice we ought to take Notice of the Author's Ingenuity, in not justifying himself at the Expence of his Veracity: But the Merit of this Sincerity is destroy'd by his having so much a better Opinion of the Treason, and by thinking it a greater Honor to be guilty, than innocent.

IN his Account of the Rebellion at this Time, Dr. Burnet with his usual Candour, will allow no Crime to be committed by his Friends, but by Chance without any Design. This is the Turn which he gives to the present Insurrection; tho' he allows their Numbers to amount to 4000 Combatants, which well consider'd, must require some Time and Preparation to get together so many Men and Arms, in a Corner of a Country no better Peopl'd than *Scotland*. But we will at this Time of Day allow the Author to misrepresent what he pleases, to impose on his Readers by the falsest Turns that he can give to Men and Things; if he wou'd so far stick to Truth, as not to invent out of his own Brain, what never had existed any where else. Of this Nature is the Story of King CHARLES, and the Duke of *York*; as if they shou'd repine, that these Wretches were not all put to the Sword by *Monmouth*, of which Matter he says thus,

P. 473. *The Duke of Monmouth stopt the Execution that his Men were making, as soon as he cou'd, and saved the Prisoners; for some mov'd, that they shou'd all be kill'd on the Spot. Yet this was afterward objected to him, as a Neglect of the King's Service, and a courting the People: The Duke of York talk'd of it in the same Strain, and the King himself said to him, that if he had been there, they shou'd not have had the Trouble of Prisoners.* This is so very unlike the Nature and the Character of the two Brothers, that this Story must come from much better Authority to be believ'd. It is strange that the Sword of War shou'd be so very sharp, and that of Justice so blunt in the same Hands; if these Princes were so sanguinary and cruel in their Tempers, why did they not gratify their Thirst of Blood upon that Part of these Miscreants who fell into their Hands? He owns himself that 1200 were taken Prisoners, out of which Number, but two of the leading incendiary Preachers were hang'd, with some few others, who by the Mercy of the Duke, with the Ropes about their Necks, had Offers of Pardon, on Condition they wou'd pray for the King, which they absolutely refus'd, when the Wretches might have saved Body and Soul at no other Expence, but embracing Christianity.

As the Author is pleased to exculpate these Fanaticks as much as he can, by laying the blame on the Tyranny of Duke *Lauderdale*, which as he insinuates, drove them to Despair; we will shew what Sort of Men these were, in whose Actions and Principles the Quintessence of *Scotch* Presbytery at this Time may be seen. This Extravagance exceeded our fifth Monarchy Men, and must divert the Reader. It is a kind of Declaration, drawn by some of these *Entbusiasts* when they were Prisoners at *Edenburgh*, and runs thus. “ We Underscribers, now
 “ Prisoners for the Truth in the *Cannon-
 “ gate Tolbooth*, tho’ vile, yet it pleased the
 “ Holy Ghost to work on our Spirits,—
 “ Yesterday being the 26th Day of the fifth
 “ Month, it seem’d good to the Holy Ghost,
 “ and to us, to take out of our Bibles the
 “ Psalms in Metre, for several Causes mention’d afterward; for the Revelations say,
 “ that if any Man shall add unto these
 “ Things, God shall add unto him the
 “ Plagues that are mention’d in this Book,
 “ and we did burn them in our Prison-house,
 “ and sweep away the Ashes; likewise in
 “ the holy Scriptures we renounce Chapters,
 “ and Verses, and Contents, because it is
 “ only done by human Wisdom, and the
 “ changing of the Books after the Holy
 “ Ghost had placed them. We being press-
 “ ed

“ ed to this Work by the Holy Ghost, do
 “ renounce the Impression and Translation
 “ of the Old and new Testament, and that
 “ for Additions put unto them by Men.
 “ We renounce and decline all Authority
 “ throughout the World, and all that are
 “ in Authority, and all their Acts and E-
 “ dicta, from the Tyrant *Charles Stuart* to
 “ the lowest Tyrant, and burn them. —
 “ We renounce the Names of Months, as
 “ *January, February, March, &c.* As al-
 “ so *Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, &c.*

Sign'd

Walter Ker,

John Gibb,

David Jamison,

John Young.

This is exactly compar'd and collated
 with the principal Copy, by me

William Paterson,

Cl. Sti. Concilii.

It is the less Wonder, that our Author
 should have some Kindness for this Sort of
 Men, if it be true what has been credibly
 reported, that he himself in some Parts of
 his Life was by Fits touch'd with this Sort
 of Enthusiasm, so far as to be a little on the
 Visionary, in Imitation of his Friend Dr.
Leighton; so that it would not seem strange,
 if during these lucid Intervals of Inspiration,
 while

while he labour'd under so vast an Infusion of Spirit, he should at those Times have join'd in Communion with these holy Men.

P. 480. The Person to whom the present Mayor had drunk was set aside, and Bethel and Cornish were chosen Sheriffs for the ensuing Year. Bethel was a Man of Knowledge, and had writ a very judicious Book of the Interest of Princes: But as he was a known Republican in Principle, so he was a sullen and a wilful Man; and turn'd from the ordinary way of a Sheriff's living, into the extream of Sordidness, which was very unacceptable to the Body of the Citizens, and prov'd a very great Prejudice to the Party. Cornish the other Sheriff, was a plain, warm, honest Man, and liv'd very nobly all this Year. The Court was very jealous of this, and understood it to be done on design to pack Juries: So that the Party might be always safe, whatever they might engage in. It was said that the King would not have common Justice done him hereafter against any of them, how guilty soever. The setting up Bethel gave a great Colour to this Jealousy; for it was said, that he had expressed his approving the late King's Death in very indecent Terms. These two Persons had never before receiv'd the Sacrament in the Church, being Independents; but they did it now to qualify themselves for this Office, which gave great Advantages against the whole Party: It was said, that the serving an

End

End was a good Resolver of all Cases of Conscience, and purg'd all Scruples. This is the Author's Character of these two Men, and I believe it is very just and impartial. The Use that I shall make of this ingenuous Description of these two Sheriffs, is to shew how unguarded and inconsistent he is; after insinuating that they were put into this Office on purpose to make what Juries they pleas'd, and after his own suspicious Character of them, he most strenuously supports all their Violences, and scandalous Management in packing their *Ignoramus* Juries. Two Independant Magistrates were like to make fine Work in a Government confin'd to a Church of *England* Administration. As we shall have somewhat to do with these Gentlemen by and by, that the Reader may have a better View of them, we shall tell him a very short Story. When my Lord *Stafford* went to Execution, some of the deluded Rabble on *Tower-Hill* insulted him, upon which the Prisoner address himself to the Sheriffs, desiring them to appease the People, that he might die in Quiet; to this Request, Mr. Sheriff *Bethel* brutally reply'd, *Sir, we have Orders to stop no Body's Breath, but yours.*

P. 499. *So very suddenly and not very decently he came to the House of Lords, the Crown being carry'd between his Feet in a Sedan.*

Sedan. This is smart again; the Author has sometimes a kind of Wit and Satyr in his Anger. But to shew the Reader how ridiculous this Story is; the Robes were as necessary as the Crown, at the King's Appearance on the Throne; and the Truth of the Matter is, the Crown was put in the Bag with the Robes, and sent privately before, to prevent any Inkling of the design'd Dissolution. The Author undoubtedly hugged himself with this witty Story, which may serve for an Appendix to his noble Tale of the Queen and the Cart.

P. ibid. So upon this I went into a closer Retirement, and to keep my Mind from running after News and Affairs, I set my self to the Study of Philosophy and Algebra. It is hard that the Doctor's own Profession could not divert him from News and Politics, if he had piously discharg'd his Function, without being oblig'd to apply himself to Algebra. How his Head was turn'd to those abstruse and speculative Sciences we know not, but if he made no better Progress in them, than in his Divinity, I reflect not on his Capacity or Knowledge, but Soundness of Doctrines, we may venture to say, that he was not so great a Mathematician as Sir *Isaac Newton*, no more than he was as good a Casuist as *Dr. Sanderfon*. After this, the Reader may expect to hear
of

of some new Intrigues; it is remarkable, that this Author never retreats, but to fall again and do more Mischief; as if he only retir'd to give Breath to his Malice, and fasted a while, to return to his Prey with greater Appetite; like a certain deform'd Creature, who after he has spent his Stock on the most salutary Herbs in the Garden, retreats into the Earth to gather fresh Venom, and reinforce his Poison.

P. 501. *And such of the Clergy as would not engage in that Fury, were cryed out upon as the Betrayers of the Church, and as secret Favourers of the Dissenters. The Truth is, the Number of these were not great: One observ'd right, that according to the Proverb in the Gospel, where the Carcass is, there the Eagles will be gathered together. The Scent of Preferment, will draw aspiring Men after it.* The Author before attack'd the dignify'd Clergy, and now he falls upon the whole Body, makes them the last of Mankind, without Honor, Principle or Conscience; Men that would sacrifice every thing to Interest and Preferment. The small Exception that he makes, renders his Charge universal. Nothing can be so hard as the Condition of the Clergy in *England*; they have always been the Marks and Butts of that Part of the Laity, who were loose and libertine in their Principles;

ples; their Failings have always been look'd on thro' magnifying Glasses, and their Virtues unregarded; from these Men they have found no Quarter; but this unjust and cruel Treatment from one of their own Order, is the last Barbarity. The comparing his Brethren to Birds of Prey, gives a fine Idea of the Rapacity of the Clergy, and enables the Scorners to insult Religion, depreciates the very Character of the Priesthood, and prostitutes to the Ridicule of Buffoons and Atheists, the Dignity of that Gown which he had the Honour to wear.

P. 504. I went no more to Fitzharris: But Hawkins the Minister of the Tower took him into his Management; and prevail'd with him not only to deny all his former Discovery, but to lay it on Clayton, Treby, and the Sheriffs, as a Subornation of theirs; tho' it is evident, that it was impossible to be true. Yet at the same Time, he writ Letters to his Wife, who was not then admitted to him, which I saw and read, in which he told her, how he was practis'd upon with Hopes of Life. He charg'd her to swear falsely against none: One of these was writ that very Morning in which he suffer'd, and yet before he was led out, he sign'd a Paper containing the former Charge of Subordination, and put it in Hawkins's Hands, and at Tyburn he referr'd all he had to say

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to

to that Paper, which was immediately published. As this Affair made a very great Noise at the time, to come at the Truth, we must see what other Histories say on this Subject. *Eachard*, p. 1004. " Being in

" this Place fetter'd, monyless, and friendless, and his Wife and Family in a starving Condition, he was strangely tempted by several insinuating Examinations, as we are inform'd, from his dying Confession. Particularly the two Sheriffs *Bethel* and *Cornish* came to him with a Token from Lord *Howard*, which he knew to be true; and brought Heads from *Everard* accusing him of being an Emisary, employ'd by the King to put the Libels into Protestants Houses, which he utterly deny'd. They told him that he was to be try'd within three or four Days, that the People wou'd prosecute him, and the Parliament impeach him, and that nothing wou'd save his Life but discovering the Popish Plot. And then they encouraged him from the Lord *Howard*, that if he wou'd declare that he believ'd so much of the Plot, as amounted to the introducing the King, or if he could find out any that wou'd charge the Queen, his Royal Highness, or make so much as a plausible Story to confirm the Plot, the Parliament would restore him to his Father's Estate, with the Profits thereof

" since

“ since the Restoration. Finding himself in
“ a miserable Condition, he soon began to
“ shew a Compliance, and to hearken to
“ the particular Instructions they brought,
“ which they said came from forty Lords
“ and Commons, who met that Day to ad-
“ dress the King in his behalf; if he shou’d
“ confirm their Instructions.” Mr. *Eachard*
proceeds in the Detail of this villanous De-
sign of Subornation, by which the Reader
may see the fine Management of the two
independent Sheriffs. The only fair Way
to proceed with a Person in such Circum-
stances, is to press and adjure him to speak
the Truth, and nothing but the Truth,
without any other Instruction; but to tell
a Man with a Halter before his Eyes, that
he shou’d be try’d in a few Days, and cer-
tainly be hang’d if he would not do so and
so, and then on the other Hand, tempt
him with Rewards, was certainly putting
Words in his Mouth, and tampering in
all Respects. If this was not an Attempt
of Subornation, we must unlearn the *Eng-
lish* Tongue, and look for some other Sig-
nification of that Word.

As we are acquainted with what *Fitz-
harris* confess, there only remains to know
if he persever’d in this Confession to the
last. Let us see therefore how he behav’d
himself at his Execution, of which the same

Historian says. " He referr'd what he had
" further to declare to what he had left
" with Dr. *Hawkins*. The two Sheriffs
" not satisfy'd, urg'd him to speak more
" fully; and Mr. *Bethel* said, Mr. *Fitz-*
" *harris*, you declar'd when you were in
" *Newgate*, that you knew more of the
" Popish Plot than any Man, you ought
" to declare what you know before you
" die.—He still referr'd to what he had
" left with Dr. *Hawkins*, which made them
" very earnest to know what it was, and
" where; but the Doctor told them, that
" they were Papers which were not proba-
" bly in his Power to produce; and having
" Notice before of the design of stifling the
" Confession, by his not owning it at his
" Death; he desir'd the dying Man to de-
" clare, whether all that he had left with
" him were true. The Sheriffs seem'd much
" concern'd that he shou'd put this Que-
" stion to him, and said, that he had no-
" thing to do to put such Questions there,
" nor should he. He quickly reply'd, shall
" I not bid the dying Man speak the Truth?
" upon which *Fitzharris* turn'd to him,
" and said, Yes, it is true." By these Ac-
counts, we may see how Dr. **Burnet** to fling
his own and the Guilt of his Friends, on
Dr. *Hawkins* and the Court, has misrep-
resented this Matter. If the common Opi-
nion at this time was not unjust to the Au-
thor,

thor, the Share that he had in the Management of this vile Affair, was one of the blackest Scenes of his Life. It is not unpleasant, when he says, *I went no more to Fitzharris*; it is very true, the Court wou'd not let him, having no great Opinion of his being a good Confessor. But notwithstanding all his Misrepresentation, the Short of the Case was this. Here is a wicked Man under the 'Terrors of certain Death, prest by two Parties, the one wou'd persuade him to do Justice to the King, the Government, and his own Soul, by a frank Confession; the others, who had suborn'd him, to stand to his Evidence. As soon as Dr. **Burnet**, by his own Confession, went no more near him; having the Happiness to fall into the Hands of a more faithful spiritual Guide, and being no longer supported against the Impulses of his Conscience, he could no longer resist; the Charm was ended, and he soon disburthens his Load by a hearty Confession. On this, the Suborners finding their Roguery discover'd, endeavour to bring him back, and make him recant his Confession, as appears by Mr. *Eachard*. This they could attempt no other way, but by engaging his Wife, who was a very ill Woman: She cou'd not resist the Temptation of 300 *Guineas* down, and three a Week; but solicits her Husband to a Recantation; the poor Man fluctated some time

time under this Temptation; but when Death approach'd, his Soul was dearer than any Thing he cou'd leave behind; he renews his Confession, signs it before he went into the Sledge; and this he confirm'd with his last Breath at the Gallows. As the Declaration of a dying Man is a kind of Will and Testament, the last Assertion is the most sacred, being the Codicil that gives the Saction, confirms or destroys the rest. The two independent Sheriffs conscious of their Guilt, would have perswaded him to have confirm'd the Lies to which he had sworn in his former Evidence; in order to this, with as much Ignorance as Brutality, they interrupted a Minister in the most sacred and solemn Duty of his Function, would have hinder'd a Confessor from exhorting his Penitent to speak the Truth, and shame the Devil, tho' not the Doctor.

THERE is no need of saying more to clear this Matter, the Nature of the Thing speaks its self. If the Court thro' the Influence of Dr. *Hawkins*, had prevail'd on *Fitzharris* to accuse those Gentlemen falsely of Subornation, they must at least have tempted him with a Promise of Life; afterward, when they broke their Word, and he came to dye, if it were only in Revenge, he wou'd certainly have told the Truth, and discover'd the Knavery, being under no manner of Tempta-

Temptation, to persevere in a Lie to the very last Moment, for the sake of Men who had rewarded him with a Halter.

P. 510. *About a Year before this, Tongue dy'd, who first brought out Oates, they quarrell'd afterwards, and Tongue came to have a very bad Opinion of Oates, upon what reason, I know not.* There is a very remarkable Story in Mr. *Eachard*, that will give great light into this Matter. *Eachard*, P. 949. "As soon as *Oates* was by the Parliament
 " esteem'd the prime Discoverer of the Plot,
 " his Reputation in the height, and all Per-
 " sons inflam'd with the Horror of it, about
 " twenty eminent rich Citizens, entire Be-
 " lievers of the whole, met at a great Sup-
 " per in the City, to which they invited
 " Dr. *Tongue*, Mr. *Oates*, and another noted
 " Divine, who had been often favour'd with
 " the King's private Conversation. These
 " three were handsomely entertain'd, and
 " particularly caress'd by the rest of the
 " Company; but their highest and distin-
 " guishing Compliments were pay'd to Mr.
 " *Oates*, and with such a seeming Deroga-
 " tion, to the Honour of Dr. *Tongue*, who
 " valu'd himself and his Abilities as much
 " as any Man, that there arose a verbal
 " Quarrel between these two Confederates,
 " which came to that height, that the Doc-
 " tor plainly told *Oates*, that he knew no-
 " thing

“ thing of the Plot but what he learnt from
 “ him. These dangerous Words disturb’d
 “ and confounded the whole Company; and
 “ had such an Effect upon one of them,
 “ who was thought to be a Spy, that the
 “ very next Morning he went to the King
 “ and told him the whole Passage and Trans-
 “ action. Upon which, his Majesty imme-
 “ diately sent for the foremention’d Divine,
 “ in whom he had a good Confidence, and
 “ opening the Matter to him, he let him
 “ know, that he expected to hear the Par-
 “ ticulars from him. But he made some
 “ Excuses, and particularly alledg’d the Bad-
 “ ness of his Memory; at which the King
 “ said in a Passion, if you are good for any
 “ thing it is for your Memory; and then
 “ let him know that he had heard sufficient
 “ of the Matter already, but expected it all
 “ from him; but he still pretended not to
 “ remember it, or else gave so imperfect an
 “ Account of it, that the King incens’d, at
 “ last spoke to this Effect to him. I find
 “ there is like to be a great deal of Blood-
 “ shed about this Plot, and the Times are
 “ so troublesome and dangerous to me, that
 “ I durst not venture to pardon any that is
 “ Condemn’d; Therefore their Blood be
 “ upon your Head, and not mine; and I
 “ desire to see you no more, and so finally
 “ dismiss’d him his Presence.” If Mr. Ea-
 “ chard had been less tender of certain Per-
 son’s

son's Reputation, so as to have nam'd this noted Divine, we should probably have known, whether Dr. **Burnet** spoke Truth or no, when he affirms, that he knew not the reason of the Quarrel between *Oates* and *Tongue*.

P. 522, As he was going back to bring the Dutchess, the Gloucester Frigate that carried him struck on a Bank of Sand. The Duke went into a Boat, and took care of his Dogs, and some unknown Persons, who were taken from that care of his, to be his Priests. The Long-Boat went off with a very few in her, tho' she might have carried above 80 more than she did, one hundred and fifty Persons perish'd, some of them of very great Quality, &c. This Account is diametrically opposite to Truth in every Circumstance, and could proceed from nothing but the most infernal Malice inspir'd by the Father of all Falshood,

IN the first place here is a Confusion in the Account of the Boat, in which the Duke was saved; at first he says, the Duke went into the Boat, afterward that the Long-Boat went off. — Whether he means the same Vessel by these differing Appellations we are at a loss; but we will suppose it on the stronger Side for the Author, and let it be the Long-Boat, which he says went off so empty, that she wou'd have still carried 80 more

more Persons. The Reader shall presently see whether the Carpenters at the Docks, know more of this Matter than Dr. *Burnet*. The Dimensions of the Long-Boat belonging to the *Gloucester*, according to her Rate, must be as follows. Length *per* Keel 30 F. Breath *per* Beam 11 F. which allowing the utmost Number of Men that she could carry, does not exceed 80; but what could our Author say, if the Duke went not off in the Long-Boat, but the Pinnace or Boat with Oars, which with the Rowers and Coxon wou'd not carry half that Number. But whatever the Boat or her Complement was, Colonel *Leg*, afterward Lord *Dartmouth*, saw her so deeply loaded, that he wou'd not enter himself for fear of sinking her, and least any Body else should attempt it, he and the Captain, who was afterward sav'd by a Rope over the Stern, were forc'd to draw their Swords on the side of the Ship. After this Account, is it probable that Sir *John Berry*, the Captain of the Ship, and my Lord *Dartmouth*, should suffer a Boat that wou'd have held eighty more Persons to have gone off, and left them behind to perish? Notwithstanding the Notoriety of all these Facts, this harden'd Man has the Confidence to tell the World, that the Pinnace of a Frigate wou'd still have contain'd 80 more Persons. As to the People of Quality that were lost in this Hurry
and

and Confusion, I am sorry to mention what was generally said and believ'd at the time, that some of them were in a Condition which render'd it impracticable to wake them; so that in such a Confusion, when every Man is to save his own Life, it is no great Wonder that they were neglected, who could not shift for themselves. The Story of the Dogs and the Priests is all of a piece with the rest: Every one knows, who were the Persons that the Duke distinguish'd and call'd in this great Distress; but if he had thought fit to have sav'd his Dogs, it would have done him no great harm; they would not afterwards have bit him: Those honest Creatures would always have lick'd the Hands that fed them, and as they are the Emblems of Fidelity, would never have deserted their Master. But this Story of the Dogs is as idle, and silly, as it is false and malicious; for it is very well known that the famous *Mumper*, the Duke's favourite Dog, was drown'd, after having fought a good while, and disputed a Plank with Sir *Charles Scarborough*. This was so very notorious, that a foolish Ballad, which is sung to this Day, was made at the time upon this ridiculous Rencontre between the Dog and the Doctor. If the Reader could doubt before of this Author's being the most shameless of Writers, this very Story is enough to convince him.

NOTHING

NOTHING can be so astonishing as the implacable Malice of this Man; tho' sure to be contradicted, he wou'd sacrifice his Reputation to the Indulgence of his Revenge. This shews how that Passion was fix'd in his Nature as not to be eradicated; he must know that there were thousands alive who could have confuted him in this Matter; but he chose rather to poyson one Man, than not to be censur'd by twenty: If he had been more guarded, and carry'd on his Design with great Address and Cunning, the Mischiefs that he wou'd have done might have been irreparable; but the Misdemeanor of Providence and Nature who gave him Horns, to make good the Proverb, thought fit to contract and blunt them.

P. 528. He proceeds to the great Contest in the City, upon the Election of Sheriffs. In this Account he is so infamously partial, as to leave it doubtful whether the Falshood of the Facts, or his Assurance in telling them be greater. He begins thus. *At Midsummer a new Contest discover'd how little the Court resolv'd to regard either Justice or Decency. — P. Ibid. When the Day came, in which the Mayor us'd to drink to one, and mark him out for Sheriff, he drank to North, a Merchant, that was Brother to the Chief-Justice. Upon that, it was pretended, that*
this

this Ceremony, was not a bare Nomination, which the Common-Hall might receive or refuse, as they had a Mind to it : But that this made the Sheriff, and that the Common-Hall was bound to receive and confirm him in Course, as the King did the Mayor. On the other Hand it was said, that the Right was to be determined by the Charter, which granted the Election of Sheriffs to the Citizens of London; and that whatever Customs had crept in among them, the Right still lay where the Charter had lodg'd it, among the Citizens. But the Court was resolved to carry this Point ; and they found Orders that had been made in the Pity, concerning this Particular ; which gave some Colour to the Pretension of the Mayor.——The Sheriffs were always understood to be the Officers of that Court ; so the Adjourning it belonged to them : Yet the Mayor adjourn'd the Court, which, they said, he had no Power to do ; and so went on with the Poll. There was no Disorder in the whole Progress of the Matter. But tho' the Mayor's Party carried themselves with great Insolence to the other Party, yet they shewed on this Occasion more Temper than could have been expected from so great a Body, &c. I must desire my Readers, who are Citizens of London, to remark, that the Author is as ill-bred to a Lord-Mayor of London, as to a Peer of the Realm,

Realm, who is not of his Kidney. Sir *John Moor* was a Tory; and therefore not to be treated with the Title of Lord, as it is to be observ'd in this whole Quotation; he has not once vouchsafed this Honour to that unfortunate Gentleman; but treats the greatest Citizen of the Universe, tho' enobled by so many Crowns, with no more Distinction: That this could not proceed from Negligence is certain; for in this Case, the Eye or the Ear will direct the Writer or Speaker; and I aver it to be equally as unnatural, for a Man bred in *England*, to write, or say, Mayor of *London*; as it would be to call an Ostler, in a certain Borough, Lord-Mayor of *Stockbridge*: Tho' this is another Trifle in it self, it shews the Man in Miniature, and makes the Malignity of his Nature as apparent, as when on other Occasions we have unmask'd, and expos'd him to the Light in a larger Attitude. The Reader has seen the Author's Account of this Matter, and will, no doubt, be very much surprized to find the Truth so disguis'd and falsified. Left our single Authority in contradicting him should not have its Weight, we must have recourse to the common Chronicles, which, as to plain Matter of Fact, are, or ought to be Records. *Eachard*, p. 1021. The 24th of "*June*, the customary Day for electing of "*Sheriffs of London* for the ensuing Year, was

“ was the great Time of Struggle between
“ the two Parties : Not long before at a
“ Dinner call'd the *Bridg-House* Feast, the
“ Lord-Mayor, according to ancient Custom,
“ had chosen Mr. *Dudley North*,
“ by the Ceremony of drinking to him;
“ and thereupon issu'd out his Summons to
“ the several Companies, to appear at
“ *Guild-Hall*, on the 24th of *June* for the
“ Confirmation of Mr. *North*, and for the
“ Election of another Sheriff. At the appointed
“ Day, a vast Concourse of People
“ assembled at *Guild-Hall*, resolving to
“ oppose the Lord-Mayor, who was sitting
“ with the Sheriffs on the *Hustings*.
“ There were two Parties appear'd in Competition;
“ Mr. *North* and Mr. *Box* on the
“ *Tory* Party, and Mr. *Papillon* and Mr.
“ *Dubois* on the other. The Poll was managed
“ by the present Sheriffs, Mr. *Pilkinson*
“ and Mr. *Shut* : In which it was observed,
“ that the Names of those who poll'd
“ for the Confirmation of *North*, and the
“ Election of *Box*, were refus'd to be enter'd;
“ and on the other Side, it was said,
“ that several Mens Names were enter'd,
“ who were not actually present, or not
“ duly entitled to vote. The Lord-Mayor
“ seeing this violent Opposition, by Proclamation
“ adjourn'd the Court to the 27th
“ of *June*, and departed the Hall. Upon
“ proclaiming *God save the King*, the People

“ ple hiss’d, and cry’d *God save the Pro-*
“ *testant Sheriffs*; and press’d so hard upon
“ the Lord-Mayor, that he was thrown
“ upon his Knees, and endanger’d by the
“ Croud. Notwithstanding this Adjourn-
“ ment, and aginst more than one express
“ Command of the Lord-Mayor; the two
“ Sheriffs continu’d to poll till Night. The
“ next Day being *Sunday*, admitted of no
“ Business. *Monday-morning* the Lord-
“ Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and the two
“ Sheriffs were sent for, to appear before
“ the King and Council; where the Mat-
“ ter being fully examined, the two She-
“ riffs were committed Prisoners to the Tow-
“ er, by a Warrant sign’d by twenty four
“ Privy Counsellours. Besides this, before
the Affair was over, they rais’d new Sediti-
ons; for which the two Sheriffs and twelve
other leading Men, were try’d for these
flagrant Riots at *Guild-Hall*; upon an In-
formation in the Crown-Office, which ran
thus, That there had been a riotous and un-
“ lawful Assembly of a thousands Persons
“ unknown, who endeavour’d to raise a
“ Tumult by Clamours, Outcries and Disor-
“ ders, in Contempt of the Laws; assaulted
“ the Lord-Mayor, forc’d him upon his
“ Knees, threw of his Hat, beat down the
“ Sword, and continu’d the Hall after a le-
“ gal Adjournment, &c. Of this Tumult
these Gentlemen were convicted, the two
She-

Sheriffs were fined, the one in five hundred Pound, and the other a thousand Marks. After the Notoriety of these Facts, what must we think of this Author, who has the Brow to tell Posterity, "That there was no Disorder in the Progress of the whole Matter?" But there are thousands of living Witnesses at this Day to contradict him. One would believe, that the Author hop'd to live so long himself, that no one would remain to assert the Truth against his Posthumous Work; otherwise he would not have ventur'd thus to impose on the World, by denying these Tumults and Seditions, which were so very flagrant, as to cause the two Sheriffs to be imprison'd; an Incident, which has not often happen'd since the Incorporation of the City. The mutinous Conduct of the Disaffected at this Time, was look'd on by all impartial Persons, as one of the greatest Blemishes in the most illustrious Body of Citizens in *Europe*. When an Author will so divest himself of all Shame, as to oppose the Torrent of Truth, what will become of History? If such Tumults and Seditions are to be express'd by the Words, *no Disorder in the whole Progress*; if a violent Assault on the Person of the chief Magistrate, throwing him on his Knees, taking away his Hat, and beating down the chief Ensigns of his Power and Dignity, may be said, *to act with Temper*,

we must make a new Dictionary for the *English* Language. The best Advice that we can give the Reader, that he may be the least deceiv'd, when he has to do with this Writer, is to believe directly contrary to what he affirms, and like a Conjuror, always read him backwards. I cannot part with this Subject without one short Remark; that notwithstanding the Power of the *Lord Mayor* was so disputed at this Controversy, such is the Disingenuity of Mankind, that we have liv'd to see, within less than twenty Moons, the same Party of Men support an Election on their Side by the same Authority.

AFTER this infamous Account, in regard to the Election of *Sheriffs*, Dr. *Burnet* never shrinks, but goes boldly forward in his constant Tract of Misrepresentation and Calumny. The Election of a *Lord Mayor* gives him a new Opportunity of shewing his wonted Candour, p. 530. *When Michaelmas-day came, those who found how much they had been deceived in Moor, resolved to chuse a Mayor that might be depended on. The Poll was closed when the Court thought that they had the Majority: But upon casting up, it appear'd that they had lost it. So they fell to canvas it, and they made such Exceptions to those of the other Side, that they discounted as many*
Voices

Voices as gave them the Majority. This was also managed in so gross a manner; that it was visible the Court was resolved by fair or foul Means, to have the Government of the City in their own Hands, &c. We must confute him with the same Authority. *Echard*, p. 1022. A new Struggle "happen'd on *Michaelmas-Day*, which being the customary time for the Election of "a *Lord Mayor*, the Whig Party muster'd "their utmost Strength against Sir *William Prichard*, who was next in Course; "and set up against him two several Aldermen, *Gould*, and *Cornish*, of whom the "last had been Sheriff but the Year before; "on the first Appearance these two had the "Majority of Votes; till at last upon a long "Scrutiny, and a thorough Examination "into the Capacity of the Voters, it was "found that a great Number had appeared "for them, who were not legally entitled "to Voices, and, as it was reported, no "less than sixty in the single Company of "the *Merchant-Taylors*; which Kind of "People being struck out of the Number, "it appear'd that Sir *William Prichard* "had 2138 Votes, *Gould* 2124; and *Cornish* 2093. Whereupon Sir *William Prichard* "on the 27th Day of *October*, "was by the Court of Aldermen declar'd "Lord Mayor Elect. Nothing can be more shocking than the Author's foregoing

Misrepresentation of this Contest. Because a Number of Men unqualified had the Impudence to Vote without having any Right; this candid Author would not have these false Voices rejected, but charges the Court with a visible *Design of having the Government of the City in their own Hands*. As the *Sheriffs* have the Management and Inspection of the Poll, it is to be presum'd, that upon the Scrutiny, they wou'd not permit any wrong to be done to their own Party. If the Author could have asserted and prov'd, that any Injustice had been done in rejecting the unqualified Voices, his Pretence wou'd have been more pertinent as well as just. The Reader has seen these two contrary Accounts, and I leave it to him, which he will believe, the Bishop, or Mr. Archdeacon.

P. 535. *The Attorney General moved contrary to what is usual in such Cases, that the Judgment might not be recorded, and upon that, new Endeavours were used to bring the Common Council to deliver up their Charter: Yet that could not be compassed, tho' it was brought much nearer in the Number of the Voices than was imagined ever could be done. To see whether he is right or no in this Assertion, we must be inform'd first of the Conditions to which they submitted. Upon Judgment being given in the*

the *Kings-Bench*, the *Lord Mayor* and *Aldermen* went to *Windsor*, with a most humble and submissive Petition to implore the King's Mercy; in answer to which, the *Lord-Keeper North* in the King's Name, gave them to understand, that his Majesty was inclined to shew them some Favour, on Submission to the following Conditions. 1. *That no Lord Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, Common-Serjeant, Town-Clerk, or Coroner of the City of London; or Steward of the Borough of Southwark, shall be capable of, or admitted to the Exercise of their respective Offices, before his Majesty shall have approv'd them under his Sign Manual.* 2. *That if his Majesty shall disapprove the Choice of any Person to be Lord Mayor, and signify the same under his Sign Manual to the Lord Mayor, or in default of a Lord Mayor, to the Recorder, or senior Alderman, the Citizens shall within one Week proceed to a new Choice: And if his Majesty shall in like Manner disapprove the second Choice, his Majesty may, if he please, nominate a Person to be Lord Mayor for the ensuing Year.* 3. *If his Majesty shall in like manner disapprove the Persons chosen to be Sheriffs, or either of them, his Majesty may appoint Persons to be Sheriffs for the ensuing Year, by his Commission, if he so please.* 4. *The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, may also with Leave of his Majesty, displace*

any Alderman, Recorder, &c. 5. Upon the Election of an Alderman, if the Court of Aldermen shall judge, and declare the Person presented to be unfit, the Ward shall chuse again; and upon a Disproval of the second Choice, the Court may appoint another in his Room, &c. After this Declaration, he concluded, My Lord Mayor, the Term draws towards an End, and Midsummer-Day is at Hand when some of the Officers us'd to be chosen, whereof his Majesty will reserve the Approbation. Therefore it is his Majesty's Pleasure, that you return to the City, and consult the Common-Council, that he may speedily know your Resolutions hereupon, and accordingly give his Directions; and that you may see the King is in Earnest, and the Matter is not capable of Delay, I am commanded to let you know, he has given Order to his Attorney-General to enter up Judgment on Saturday next, unless you prevent it by your Comphiance in all these Particulars. What followed upon this, Mr. Eachard will inform us, p. 1027. According to this Order, a Court of Common-Council two Days after was held again in Guild-Hall, where the Question being put, whether they should assent and submit to his Majesty's Orders of Regulations, as above expressed; the Court was divided, but it was carried in the Affirmative by a Majority of eighteen Voices, the

the Year being 104, and the Noes 86. The next Day, the Sheriffs waited on his Majesty at Windsor to satisfy him, that they had submitted to his Regulations, &c. If an entire Submission to these hard Conditions and Regulations was not in effect an absolute Surrender of their Charter, unless it were necessary to bring the Indenture in a Box, we cannot imagine what Name to give it. Notwithstanding this Certitude in the precise Number of the Voices *pro* and *con*, the Author thinks fit to affirm, that this Affair was carried on the other Side; by which we may see, how little we can depend on what he says in the most notorious Matters of Fact. As we can find no other Time, that this Affair of submitting their Privileges, was put to the Vote in the Common-Council, he can mean no other Struggle but this; if so, when he says, It was carried against the Court, he was out in his Arithmetick, &c.

P. 536. He opens the Scene of the great Conspiracy, which broke out in the Year 1683. After so long an Experience of this Author, we should not much wonder at any partial Account that he gives of this Matter, if he did not so far exceed himself, as to make one conclude, that he must be at this Time out of his Senses, to own the Knowledge of so much, and the Belief of

so little. It is certain, that he never revis'd, or so much as read over what he had written, otherwise he could never have fall'n into such gross Absurdities and Contradictions. Nothing can reconcile him to himself, after making such wrong Inferences from his own Premises, but that he firmly believ'd, let them do what they wou'd, that no Facts could be Treason against that Government. His Business is to throw Dust in his Reader's Eyes, to confound and embarrass him; one Moment he makes this Plot as visible as the Dome of St. *Paul's*, the next he sinks it in Obscurity, and makes the whole Story a Chimera and Forgery. But Truth is too bright and conspicuous to be conceal'd. This Author argues like a Man, who shou'd infer, that there is no Sun at Noon Day, because he cannot see when he looks him in the Face. The History of this Conspiracy written by Dr. *Sprat*, all founded on the most authentick Depositions, the Characters of the Witnesses, who were not rak'd out of Jays, but on the contrary were Men of some Substance, and what is more, great Credit with their own Party, at least were above Want and the last Necessity; but above all, the Confessions of the dying Criminals have put the Truth of this Plot beyond Dispute; but the Bishop is so very inconsistent and unreasonable, that after he has acknowledg'd himself enough to convince

vince the most incredulous, he arraigns the Justice of the Government in punishing the guilty, and would have his Reader believe, that it was accidental Discourse in Conversation, without any form'd Design. Thro' several Pages he gives of this long Accounts: P. 536. *The Earl of Shaftsbury had been for making use of the Heat the City was in during the Contests about the Sheriffs; and thought they might have created a great Disturbance, and made themselves Masters of the Tower.* But the Reader may judge of his Ingenuity by a Misrepresentation of the Circumstances, when they met at Mr. *Shepard* in *Abchurch-Lane*. What he says, is directly contrary to the Evidence given at the Tryals. Colonel *Romsey* depos'd; " That in the End of *October*, or Beginning of *November* 1682, there met at " Mr. *Shepard's* House in *Abchurch-Lane*, " the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray*, " the Lord *Russel*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, " and *Robert Ferguson*. That the Lord " *Shaftsbury* desir'd him to go to them thither, to know what Resolution was taken " about the Rising at *Taunton*. That he " did go, and Mr. *Shepard* carried him up " where they were, and he deliver'd his " Message. That the Answer was, Mr. " *Trenchard* had failed them, and there " could no more be done in the Matter at " that Time; that there was at the same " time

“ time a Discourse by all the Company,
“ about seeing what Posture the Guards
“ were in, that they might know how to
“ surprize them ; that some of them under-
“ took to go and see. That Lord *Russel*
“ in particular did speak about the Rising,
“ and gave his Consent to it.” To corro-
borate this Evidence, Mr. *Shepard*, who was
an eminent Merchant, a Man of unblemish’d
Probity, and of Reputation upon the *Ex-*
change, swore as follows. “ That in *Octo-*
“ *ber* last, *Ferguson* requested of him in
“ the Duke of *Monmouth*’s Name, the Con-
“ veniency of his House for the Meeting
“ of some Persons of Quality ; and that the
“ same Day in the Evening, the Duke of
“ *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Rus-*
“ *sel*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, and *Ferguson*
“ came ; that they desir’d to be private, and
“ none of his Servants to come up. That
“ their Discourse was how to surprize the
“ Guards ; that the Duke of *Monmouth*,
“ Lord *Gray*, and *Armstrong* went one
“ Night to view them ; that the next
“ time they came, *Armstrong* said, *That the*
“ *Guards were remiss, and the Thing was*
“ *feasible* ; that they had two Meetings of
“ this Kind at his House ; that in one of
“ them something was read in the Nature
“ of a *Declaration* by *Ferguson*, setting
“ forth the Grievances of the Nation, in
“ order to a Rising ; that he could not po-
“ sitively

“ sitively say that Lord *Russel* was there
 “ when it was read, but the said Lord the
 “ Prisoner was there, when they discours’d
 “ of seizing the Guards.” In the first Place
 I must desire the Reader to observe, how
 exactly the Evidence of these two Witnesses,
Romsey and *Shepard* tallied in every Point,
 and then we will see the ingenuous and can-
 did Account given by the Author in relati-
 on to this Matter.

P. 537. “ The Duke of *Monmouth* gave
 “ an Appointment to Lord *Shaftsbury*, or
 “ some of his Friends, to meet him, and
 “ some others, that he should bring along
 “ with him, at *Shepard’s* a *Wine-merchant*,
 “ in whom they had an entire Confidence.
 “ The Night before this Appointment, Lord
 “ *Russel* came to Town on account of his
 “ Uncle’s Illness. The Duke of *Monmouth*
 “ went to him, and told him of the Ap-
 “ pointment, and desired that he wou’d go
 “ thither with him : He consented, the ra-
 “ ther, because he intended to taste some of
 “ that Merchant’s Wines. At Night they
 “ went with Lord *Gray* and Sir *Thomas*
 “ *Armstrong*, when they came, they found
 “ none but *Romsey* and *Ferguson*, two of
 “ Lord *Shaftsbury’s* Tools that he employ-
 “ ed : Upon which they seeing no better
 “ Company, resolved immediately to go
 “ back ; but Lord *Russel* called for a Taste
 “ of

“ of the Wines ; and while they were bring-
 “ ing it him up, *Romsey* and *Armstrong* fell
 “ into a Discourse of surprizing the Guards.
 “ *Romsey* fancied it might easily have been
 “ done ; *Armstrong* who had commanded
 “ them, shewed him his Mistakes. This
 “ was no Consultation about what was to
 “ be done, but only what might have been
 “ done. Lord *Russel* spoke nothing on the
 “ Subject, but as soon as he had tasted his
 “ Wines went away.” Here the Reader
 may see how positively Dr. *Burnet* contra-
 dicts the Evidence that was given at the
 Tryal. He says that Sir *Thomas Armstrong*
 differ’d in Opinion from Colonel *Romsey*
 about seizing the Guards, and thought it
 not practicable ; Mr. *Shepard* on the other
 Hand swears, that he made a contrary Re-
 port, and declared the Thing to be feasible,
 by reason of their Remisness. He is as
 much in the wrong, when he says, that the
 Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Russel* found
 no Body there but *Romsey* and *Ferguson*,
 upon which they were going away. Col.
Romsey to the contrary says, that he came
 afterwards, and was carried up Stairs, and
 introduc’d into the Company. As this be-
 ing of no great Consequence, whether he
 came before or after makes it improbable,
 that the Witness should falsify such a Cir-
 cumstance, so it evinces, that Dr. *Burnet*
 could never speak Truth. As Mr. *Shepard*
 was

was a Man perfectly *Rectus in Curia*, of an unquestionable Character, and could have no Malice, or other Inducement to make him tell a Lye on this Occasion, we ought in Reason and Justice to believe him; except it should be objected, that his Knowledge of so black a Design and concealing it, shou'd disparage his Credit, as a Witness; but this was most certainly the only Qualification to make him a good one: Without allowing this, it is impossible ever to have any human Evidence in a secret Conspiracy. It is plain, the Author has misrepresented this Matter, and industriously conceal'd every Thing that could affect his Friends, and persuade the World of their Guilt. If he had been sincere (but that was none of his Business) and had acquainted his Reader with the Circumstances that appear'd in the Tryal of my Lord *Russel*, beside the positive Evidence, he wou'd have given truer Impressions: If he had told, that the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray*, &c. Persons of that elevated Rank and distinguish'd Quality, came in a *Hackney* Coach, without so much as a Footman to attend them, and afterwards desir'd to be private, and that none of the Servants should come into the Room, he could not have made his Reader believe that they only came to taste Wines; besides, the Time that they staid there, being several Hours, was a little too long to have no other Business.

Business. These very two Circumstances are as strong Presumptions, that they had a secret and dangerous Design, as if a thousand Witnesses had sworn it. But I shall not dispute whether what was charg'd on my Lord *Russel*, amounted to more than Mifprisson, or no: I shall not justify any Hardships that noble Lord might suffer on that Account; but in contradiction to the Bishop, who denies the Truth of this Plot, let my Lord *Russel* be never so innocent, I must aver, that if a Person is present at a treasonable Consult, tho' he should at the same time not only dislike, but abhor any Scheme that should be offer'd, his dissent to what was propos'd, is as strong an Evidence that such a thing was propos'd, as his Approbation.

It wou'd be endless to follow him thro' all his Mazes in the Relation of this Conspiracy. It wou'd swell this Book beyond the Design, to comment on every Absurdity in this particular Story. Tho' he owns so many Facts, he would have you believe that nothing was meant after all; that is as much as to say, that when they sent *Aaron Smith* into *Scotland*, they had no Design in sending him, that when he went, he had no Design in going; that the *Scotch* Gentlemen, who came to *London* on this Invitation, had no Design in taking so long and chargeable a Journey;

Journey; and when he himself was afraid that his Friend Lord *Russel* should come to some Harm by keeping his Country-men Company; he believ'd that they had no Designs that cou'd endanger him; and when he owns that the Pretence of *Carolina* was thought a very good Blind, this Blind was to cover nothing at all. To convince the Reader that I have not wrong'd the Author, in charging him with owning several Facts, I must be oblig'd to make some short Quotations. P. 541. *What past between the Scots and English Lords I know not, only that Lrd Argyle, who was then in Holland, asked at first 20000 l. for buying a Stock of Arms and Ammunition, which he afterwards brought down to 8000 l. and a thousand Horse to be sent down into Scotland. In the same Page he says. But the Thing had got some Vent, for my own Brother, a zealous Presbyterian, who was come from Scotland, it not being safe for him to live longer in that Kingdom, knowing that he had conversed with many that had been in the Rebellion, told me, there was certainly somewhat in Agitation among them, about which some of their Teachers had let out somewhat very freely to himself. Again, p. 543. Walcot an Irish Gentleman, that had been of Cromwell's Army, was now in London, and got into that Company; and he was made believe, that the Thing was so well laid, that many both in City and Country were engaged in it; he liked their*

their Project of a Rising, but declared he would not meddle with their Lopping. In the same Page, At one Time Lord Howard was among them; and they talked over their Schemes of Lopping. One of them was to be executed in the Playhouse. Lord Howard said he liked that best, for then they would die in their Calling. P. 545. As for Arms, West had bought some, as on a Commission for a Plantation. And these were said to be some of the Arms with which they were to be furnished, tho' when they were seen they seem'd very improper for such a Service. These Arms were after their Seizure deposited and shewn in the Tower; they consisted of Blunderbusses and Musketoes, which were the most proper to fire into a Coach; but we will excuse the Doctor's Ignorance in an Art to which he was a Stranger, the Knowledge and Use of Arms, since we find him very often not so well instructed as he ought to have been, in his own Profession. P. 549. But he begun (i. e. Lord Gray) to think that he might be in Danger; he found Romsey was one Witness, and if another shou'd come in he was gone. P. 557. Speaking of himself and Tillotson, he says, *We thought the Party had gone too quick in their Consultations, and too far; and that Resistance in the Condition we were then in was not lawful.* After owning so many Circumstances and Facts, the Author will find a very difficult Task

Task to blind and deceive his Readers, so as to make them believe there was nothing at all in this Matter. The Inconsistencies and Contradictions into which he must of Necessity fall, are obvious; all which might have been prevented when he asserts any one Thing, if he had carefully examin'd what he had said before. But perhaps he had contracted a Habit of so out-facing the World, that he would not correct his Errors, as if he was ashamed of repenting even to himself. His Faults are seldom single; when he has committed one, he hurries you on to another, that by a new Amusement, you should not have Time to reflect on the past; like a vicious Horse, who, when he has made a Stumble, instead of going more carefully, conscious of his Fault, runs away with his Rider.

IN order to his Design of Discrediting the Plot, by invalidating the Force of the Evidence, he uses not always the very best Arguments; his Objection against my Lord *Howard* in being a Beggar, will bear no great Weight. Men in ill Circumstances are most likely to be desperate, and engage in desperate Designs. *Cataline* was undone in his domestick Affairs, before his Necessities, as well as Ambition push'd him to repair his broken Fortunes in the Ruin of his Country. When he says, that Lord was so

S

infamous,

infamous, that his own Party were shy in trusting him, he seems to contradict himself, when in another Place he asserts, that Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, had so great a Kindness for him, as to support him with his Esteem, Friendship, and Purse, which so wise a Man would never have done, if this Nobleman had been of a Character so infamous, as not to be trusted. His Zeal to the Cause, and mortal Hatred to the King and kingly Government, must needs recommend him to Men possess'd with the same Aversions. There can lye no other Objections against my Lord *Howard*, who was qualified to be in their Councils in all respects; and if we consider his Name and Family, was superior in Quality, as well as in the Fineness of his Parts and Capacity.

P. 558. He thought it necessary for him to leave a Paper behind him at his Death; and because he had not been accustomed to draw such Papers, he desired me to give him a Scheme of the Heads fit to be spoken to, and of the Order in which they should be laid: Which I did. And he was three Days employ'd, some Time in the Morning, to write out his Speech. Afterwards, when he Dr. Burnet, was examin'd by the King and Council, and ask'd, If he did not make my Lord Russel's Speech? He tells you himself his Answer. I offer'd to take my Oath, that

that the Speech was penn'd by himself, and not by me. After this no one will dispute the Ingenuity of the candid Dr. **Burnet**. Whether, he who dictates, or he who only writes what is dictated, is reckon'd to be the Author, let all Men judge, who ever heard of the Word, *Equivocation*? If we had to do with another Man, who should have told this Story of himself, we should have made this Reflection, That he had sacrificed the Reputation of his Sincerity, to be thought the Author of that sophistical Paper, and that his Vanity had vanquish'd his Sense of Shame; but as our good Bishop was all his Life totally unfusceptible of the last Passion, the first, in his Case, had nothing to combat.

AFTER these Affairs at Home, he now carries us into *France*, where his Vanity appears in the most lively Colours. Here he gives the Characters of the *French* Court, and the great Men in that Country, most of which are wrong, but it is not worth while to disprove him. P. 565. he says, *That the Duke of Montausier was a Pattern of Virtue and Sincerity, if not too Cynical in it. He was so far from flattering the King, as all the rest did most abjectly, that he could not hold from contradicting him, as often as there was Occasion for it. And for that Reason chiefly the King made*

him the Dauphin's Governour. Here contrary to his Design or Inclinations, he sets the King of *France* in a very advantageous Light, inconsistent with the Notion that he has given of him in other Places, where he makes him so fond of the Incense that was offer'd to him. A Prince who is above the Poyson of Flattery, must not only have a Greatness of Soul, but the most consummate Wisdom. To esteem a Man for a Sincerity often shewn at his own Expence, so as to entrust him with the Care of his Son, is a Character inconsistent with that Tyrant, Monster, and Enemy of Mankind, which our well-bred Author in a very few Pages will call him.

AFTERWARDS, *p. ibid.* While I was at Court, which was four or five Days, one of the King's Coaches was sent to wait on me, and the King ordered me to be well treated by all about him; which upon that, was done with a great Profusion of extraordinary Respects. But this was not all. — That the King hearing I was a Writer of History, had a Mind that I should write on his Side. I was told a Pension would be offer'd me, but I made no Step towards it. The Compliment of the King's Coaches is never paid in so haughty a Court as that of *France*, but to foreign Princes, publick Ministers, or to Persons of a very elevated Rank

Rank and Quality. It has been known, that this Honour has been shewn to Generals of Orders, tho' but poor *Franciscan Fryars*; but then always conducted by a *Master of the Ceremonies*, as being regarded under a publick Character; but never to private Men, especially to a Person not so much as dignified at this Time in his own Church and Country, and whose best Pretention was the Honour of his *English* Cassock, which by his ill Principles and Tricks he had so much disgrac'd. It is pity Dr. **Burnet** had not thought fit in this Ramble to have made the Tour of *French Flanders*, that Sir *Harbottle Grimstone's* Chaplain might have been saluted by the Cannon from the Ramparts in every Town that he pass'd. This Compliment would certainly have been paid to a Person so distinguish'd in *France*, as to have had the Honour of the King's Coaches. But the most extravagant Sally of his Vanity, is the Story he tells us, that the King had a Mind to engage him to write on his Side. This *Rhodomontade* must give no small Diversion in *France*, where there are so many illustrious and abler Pens; besides the Advantage of being Natives, Men in all respects so much better qualify'd for so great a Task, without the Absurdity of employing a *Scotch Hugonot* to defend the Cause, and adorn the *Triumphs* of LOUIS LE GRAND, who now

at this Time was in the Meridian of his Greatness. But what makes all these *Gaspconades* the more suspicious and improbable, is the Account which a little before he himself has given of the strict and dangerous Alliance at this Juncture between *England* and *France*. This, if true, would make the Conduct of the *French* King, if he design'd to keep any Measures with his Brother and Allie, very unaccountable, thus to overwhelm with Favours and Marks of Respect a Man, who was at this Time in a Kind of Rebellion, in open Defiance, and flown in the Face of the King his Master.

P. Ibid. I saw the Prince of Conde but once, tho' he intended to see me oftner. He had great Quickness of Apprehension, and was thought the best Judge in France of Wit and Learning. He had read my History of the Reformation, that was then translated into French, and seemed very well pleased with it. So were many of the great Lawyers; in particular Harlay, then Attorney-General, and now first President of the Court of Parliament at Paris. Here he flatters the Prince of Conde, and makes him the most capable Person to judge of Writing, with no other Design, but to compliment himself in that Prince's Approbation of his History. Whoever had the Genius and fine Taste to be pleas'd with that extraordinary Per-

Performance, must be the best Judge of Wit and Learning in all *France*. Tho' it is very well known, that the Prince of *Conde* was bred in a Camp from a very Boy; the Broils and civil Combustions in which he was engag'd so many Years, besides the long Wars in which he commanded afterward, let his Genius and Natural Parts be never so great, could not have afforded him Leisure to qualify himself to be the best Judge of Books and Literature in one of the most learned Countries in the World. But if the *French* were so weak, as to have any great Opinion of him, Monsieur *Thevenot* has abus'd his Country-men.

He now returns into *England*, where he renews his Prejudices, and after his usual Rate pours out his scandalous Invectives against the Administration. P. 567. *All People were apprehensive of black Designs, when they saw Jefferies made Lord Chief Justice, who was scandalously vicious, and was drunk every Day; besides a Drunkenness of Fury in his Temper, that looked like Enthusiasm.* We will pass the ill Manners and Brutality of this scandalous Character, and only remark, that if *Fury in Temper* may be called *Drunkenness*, the Author, tho' he was sober and temperate as to Liquor, was in his Time the greatest Sot in *Christendom*. If my Lord *Jefferies* exceeded the

Bounds of Temperance now and then in an Evening, it does not follow that he was drunk on the *Bench* and in *Council*. The greatest Men of Antiquity were not free from this Vice: The *Cato's* themselves, if we can believe *Tully* and *Horace*, not only indulg'd in their Genius, but warm'd their Virtue with Wine, and prolong'd their Cups till Morning. Yet these Men were the Patterns of those great Virtues, which we at this Distance of Time so much admire; tho' they liv'd in a Southern Country, where this Vice has always given greater Scandal, than among the Northern Nations, where constant Habit and Custom has almost made it no Crime. If a Man has Faults, he had better owe them to his Liquor than Nature; the first may be corrected by Reason and Experience, whereas the last is incurable.

P. 575. *Lord Halifax pressed him (Monmouth) to write a Letter to the King, acknowledging that he had confess'd the Plot. Plot was a general Word, and might signify as much, or little as a Man pleased. This is a fine Definition of a Plot, but if the Design is real and true, A Plot is a Plot, as much as a Man is a Man, or a House a House. It is certain that our reverend Author has all along follow'd this Notion in the Accounts that he has given of the several*

ral Plots, that is, has made them *signify as much, or as little as he pleas'd*; just as the Interest of his Party and his own Inclination directed.

BUT nothing can be more astonishing, than the Inferences that he draws from the *Confessions* of the dying Persons. He has own'd before, that *Hone*, whom he calls a *poor simple Man*, and who had some Heat, but scarce any Sense in him, was drawn in by Keeling and Lee. Afterwards he says, *Hone* confessed his own Guilt, but said, those who witnessed against him had engaged him in that Design, for which they now charged him; but he knew nothing of any other Persons, besides himself and the two Witnesses. That made the Plot never the less true, because he knew no more of it; and the Simplicity of the Man, on which the Author seems to lay some Stress, made him more likely to speak Truth. *Walcot* and *Rouse*, who dy'd at the same Time, acknowledg'd so much as confirm'd the Truth of the Plot, tho' they trifled in some Circumstances relating to their own Share in the Design. From hence the acute Dr. **Burnet** infers: *These Men dying as they did, was such a Disgrace to the Witnesses, that the Court thought fit to make no further Use of them.* For a very good Reason; there were no more Tryals at that Time,

Time, in which they had Occasion for the Evidence of *West* and *Romsey*. Notwithstanding all that *Walcot* own'd at his Death, and the Letter that he wrote to Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, Secretary of State, in which he acknowledged that the Plot was laid very wide, and offer'd to make great Discoveries on Condition of Mercy; the Author is not ashamed to draw such monstrous Consequences in favour of their Innocence, and to prejudice the Credit of the Witnesses. We will suppose a Case that is parallel. A robs B on Hounslow-Heath, B swears against A, that he took from him five Pound thirteen Shillings; when A comes to dye, he owns the Fact as to Circumstance of Time and Place, but says that B has wrong'd him in charging him with taking five Pound thirteen Shillings, whereas he took but five Pound twelve. This, according to Dr. Burnet's way of Reasoning, ought to affect the Credit of B in the Testimony that he gave. But the Case is still *à fortiori* on the other Side, for none of those who suffered, charged the Witnesses with any Injustice towards them.

BUT what is the most extravagant Thing of all, is the Use that the Bishop makes of *Holloway's* Confession. When he says, p. 577. *The Credit of the Rye-house Plot received a very great Blow by his Confession.*

son. The Reader must certainly desire to know, what this Man said on this Occasion. But he was prevail'd on by the Hopes of a Pardon, to submit and confess all he knew. He said he was drawn into some Meetings, in which they consulted how to raise an Insurrection, and that he and two more had undertaken to manage a Design for seizing on Bristol, with the help of some that were to come to them from Taunton. But he added, that they had never made any Progress in it. He said, at their Meetings in London, Romsey and West were often talking of lopping the King and the Duke; but that he had never entered into any Discourse with them upon that Subject. These were West, Romsey, Rombold, and his Brother; the fifth Person is not named in the printed Relation. Some said it was Ferguson, others Goodenough. This is another Specimen of the Author's Reasoning. Holloway own'd, that he was at some Meetings, in which they consulted how to raise an Insurrection, and afterwards says, that West and Romsey were often talking of lopping the King and the Duke; but that he did not believe there were above five Persons who approv'd it. For this Reason, the sagacious Dr. Burnet infers, that this Confession gave a very great Blow to the Credit of the Rye-house Plot; but since he makes an Objection to the Probability from the

the Paucity of the Number, we will tell him some more besides the five mentioned. *Hone* absolutely own'd, that he was to be one. *Walcot* must be another, because when he offer'd to Sir *Leoline Jenkins* to make a Discovery, what he had to say must relate to the Transactions at *West's* Chambers, where the Affair of the Assassination was wholly manag'd; he could not know much of Consequence in any other Branch of the Plot, not being admitted to the superior Councils. *Goodenough* was another, and *Keeling* by his own Confession, and the famous *Robert Ferguson* is allow'd by all, to have been the common Agitator in every Part of both Conspiracies. So here we have nine Persons actually engag'd; this is a more proper Number in Regard to Secrecy, to form a Plot, than nine hundred; every one is suppos'd to engage others, who, as they were to be only the Executioners under the Direction of their Leaders, were not so fit to be trusted with the Councils and secret Springs of the Design.

P. 597. When he gives an Account of Sir *Thomas Armstrong's* Behaviour at his Execution, he makes no Scruple to assert any Thing, tho' never so false, to put his Friends in a good Light, and to make those of his Party always die like Saints. — *Died in so good a Temper, and with so much Quiet*
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in his Mind, and so serene a Deportment, that we have scarce seen in our Times, a more eminent Instance of the Grace and Mercy of God. In this Account I can contradict him my self; I saw that unhappy Man go to die: As he pass'd along he threw about his Arms, as far as the Rope that ty'd him would permit, turn'd about his Head after an unusual Manner, drew and shrugg'd up his Shoulders, with such Convulsions and Distortions in his Countenance, such visible Marks of Passion, as shew'd so great a Disorder and Perturbation of Mind, as I never observ'd in any *English* Man in the same Circumstances. This in Dr. **Burnet's** Language is, *Temper, Quiet of Mind, and serene Deportment.* It is no Matter for Truth, if what he says sounds but well, and supports the Credit of Party. By this, and the like Accounts on the same Occasion, which the Reader must needs have observ'd, it is evident, that the Author's chief Talent lyes in finely describing the Behaviour of Criminals, and in pathetick Narrations of their dying Speeches. It is Pity, that he had not been better acquainted with his Genius, he would have made an admirable Ordinary of *Newgate*, which was a Post much fitter for him, than that he possess'd in the Church; when we consider that the Fury of his Temper, his Thirst of Revenge, his absolute Want of Modesty, Humility, Charity,

Charity, and all the apostolical Qualities of a good Bishop, render'd him as unfit for the pastoral Charge, as his Carnality and Love of the World, would have unqualify'd him to have been a *Capuchin* Fryar. But it is a Weakness and Misfortune common to Mankind, always to aspire to those very Things for which they are the least qualify'd, *Optat Ephippia Bos.* — This was the Author's Case, tho' at the same Time it is not improbable, that his Avarice was the chiefest Spur to his Ambition, in begging a Bishoprick with so good a Revenue; when we reflect that at bottom, he had no great Kindness for that Rag of the Whore, those Popish Gugawes, the *Lawn* and the *Mitre*. The Doctor has a particular Kindness for this worthy Gentleman; not content to make him die well, he would have you believe that he liv'd as innocent; by endeavouring to exculpate him from having any Share in this Conspiracy, when in the preceding Page he tells us, that, *The thing that Romsey had sworn against him, seemed not very credible: For he swore, that, at the first Meeting, Armstrong undertook to go and view the Guards, in Order to the seizing them; and that upon a View, he said at a second Meeting, that the Thing was very feasible. But Armstrong, who had commanded the Guards so long, knew every Thing that related to them so well, that*
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without such a transient View, he could on a sudden have answered every Thing relating to them. Here is a great Mistake in the Person of the Witness: It was not *Romsey* but *Shepard*, who swore against Sir *Thomas Armstrong* by Name. *Romsey* in his Deposition only says, that some of the Company undertook to go and view the Guards: This *Shepard* confirms, by his Testimony, and particularly names the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong* to have been the Persons who undertook to do it, and that Sir *Thomas Armstrong* was the Man who made the Report, that the Thing was feasible by Reason of their Remissness. The Author, conscious of the undeniable Credit of *Shepard*, charges this Evidence on *Romsey*, whom he thought the more exceptionable Witness, and consequently the less likely to be believed. As it is a little unnatural to mistake *Romsey* for *Shepard*, we have the more Reason to believe that he did it on purpose; by which we may see his little Arts to cheat and impose on his unguarded Reader. The Objection that he makes to the Probability of this Matter, is weak and trifling; tho' he seems to lay very great Stress on his Reasoning, when he says, that Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, who had commanded the Guards, knew their Situation so well, as to have no Occasion to view them. This will bear no great Weight,

Weight, when we consider, that the Guards were doubled, their Numbers encreas'd by additional Recruits; and their Posts extended at this Time, upon the repeated Alarms given to the Court, by the frequent Seditious in the City: This must of Course, make them alert and more on their Guard, than in Times of profound Quiet, when Sir *Thomas Armstrong* commanded them some Years before. Consequently, there was an absolute Necessity of more than what he calls a transient View; of a new and exact Observation of their Posture and Discipline, before they could form any successful Scheme of surprizing them. But if it were really unlikely what these Witnesses gave in Evidence, it would be ridiculous on bare Improbability, to argue against Matter of Fact, for which we have all the Certitude of human Evidence. With all the Pains, that the Author has taken to decry the Truth of this Plot, the unprejudic'd Part of the World will never believe him in what has all the Proof, that morally Speaking, can be expected, unless it had taken Effect: In that Case, there would have been no great Occasion for Dr. *Burnet's* History; Success alone would much better have justify'd the Action, than the prostitute Pen of so weak an Advocate.

P. 590. Stearn, *Archbishop of York*, died in the eighty sixth Year of his Age: He was also a sour ill temper'd Man, and minded chiefly the enriching of his Family: He was suspected of Popery, because he was more than ordinarily compliant with the Court, and was very zealous for the Duke. This is a false, unjust, and malicious Character of that worthy Prelate. As if a Man could not act upon a Principle, which his Religion had taught him, without being inclin'd to Popery. The *Turners*, the *Kens*, the *Sancrofts* were as zealous for the Duke, as this Bishop; yet no Man will be so hardy, as to insinuate their Inclination to that Religion, when by their Sufferings and Imprisonment, they gave such convincing Proofs of their Firmness to their own. I heartily wish, that the Author had done as much Honour to his Character, as the worst Man that he reviles in his Book, it would have been better for that Church, of which he was so unsound and heterogeneous a Member; it would have given a less handle to the Insult of her Enemies, and have sav'd us a great deal of Trouble to defend her.

P. *ibid.* Dolben *Bishop of Rochester*, succeeded him, a Man of more Spirit than Discretion, and an excellent Preacher, but of a free Conversation, which lay'd him
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open to much Censure in a vicious Court.

One would have thought, that a free Conversation should have lay'd a Man open to more Censure in a virtuous, than a vicious Court. As it is impossible, that the Author could have meant as he writes, we will not insist on the genuine Meaning of his Words, but allow it to be an Error in the Expression, rather than the Mind. I only remark the Mistake, to shew the Negligence or Laziness of this Writer, who had so much Time to peruse this Work; if he had taken the Pains to have read over this Paragraph, it is impossible, but he must have found this Inconsistency.

AMONG the wrong Characters of the other good Bishops, who dy'd this Year, he says, *p. ibid. That Gunning was a dry Man, and much inclin'd to Superstition.* That the Reader may be appris'd of what he means by the Word Superstition, he must know, that in Dr. Burnet's Language, it signifies a pious and dutiful Adherence to the Principles, Canons, Rubrick, and Discipline of the Church of *England*, as establish'd first by EDWARD VI. confirm'd by Q. ELIZABETH JAMES I. CHARLES II. and all the Acts of Uniformity since the Reformation; whoever would not surrender these, and sacrifice the Church to the Caprices of her Schismatics, were Friends to Popery. To confirm this,

this, he has a notable Paragraph in the very next Page: Speaking of Bishop Ken, he says, *The King seem'd fond of him, and by him and Turner, the Papists hoped that great Progress might be made in gaining, or at least deluding the Clergy. It was observ'd that all the Men in Favour among the Clergy were unmarried; from whom they hoped that they might probably promise themselves a Disposition, to come over to them.* As to one of these Persons, there must be a very great Mistake. Dr. Turner was a married Man; whether he might be a Widower at this Time, we cannot determine. We hope there is no need of defending these good Men from this vile and calumnious Insinuation: Their Actions have sufficiently convinc'd the World to the contrary: We saw the Time, when prostrate Crouds implor'd their Blessing, and call'd them the Saviours of the Nation. No Wonder, their egregious Virtues should shock a Man, who was their Antipodes in all that was good and worthy. The Sanctity of Manners, the Mortification, the Chastity in living unmarried, of that apostolical Man Dr. Ken, must necessarily reproach the Sensuality and Love of Women in Dr. Burnet, who exceeded by two, the Number allow'd by the Apostle. The same Thing may be lawful, and not be decent. But this Concupiscence in our Author may comparatively be excus'd, when we consider, that a ve-

ry good Friend of his, a famous Ringleader and Preacher among the Rebels in *Scotland*, about forty five Years past, in Number of Wives exceeded our Doctor by six.

P. 600. *A Tryal in a Matter of Blood, came on after this. A Gentleman of a noble Family being at a publick Supper with much Company, some hot Words past between him and another Gentleman, which raised a sudden Quarrel; none but three Persons being engag'd in it. Swords were drawn, and one was kill'd outright: But it was not certain by whose Hand he was kill'd: So the other two were both indicted upon it; the Proof did not carry it beyond Manslaughter; no Marks of precedent Malice appearing. Yet the young Gentleman was prevail'd on to confess the Indictment, and to let Sentence pass on him for Murder, a Pardon being promised him if he should do so; and he being threatned with the utmost Rigour of the Law, if he stood upon his Defence, &c. For some Reasons, I shall not disprove the Particulars of this Account; but I think myself oblig'd to let his Readers know, that the Author has abus'd them, by endeavouring to impose upon them in almost every Circumstance, as he relates the Story: For their further Satisfaction, I refer them to the Records of the *Old-Baily* and the *Sessions Paper* printed at this Time, a sort of Narrative, which is not the most unfavourable*

able to those, who have Money enough to pay for inverting the initial Letters of their Name.

P. 604. *There was at this Time a new Scheme form'd, that very probably would have for ever broken the King and the Duke: But how it was laid was so great a Secret, that I could never penetrate into it. It was laid at Lady Portsmouth's, Barillon and Lord Sunderland were the chief Managers of it; Lord Godolphin was also in it; the Duke of Monmouth came over secretly; and tho' he did not see the King, yet he went back very well pleas'd with his Journey; but he never told his Reason to any that I know of. Nor any Body else. He knew nothing of the Matter; and consequently could not tell it. This chimerical Story has been industriously affirm'd by others, who, perhaps believ'd it no more than the Author. It was first invented to facilitate the Belief of the King's being poisoned. If we may argue from Reason, and Experience of human Nature, nothing can be more incredible than this pretended Scheme, which, if true, must make this Prince the weakest of human Race. He was now in Circumstances of Ease, Power, and Greatness, to which few of his most fortunate Predecessors ever arriv'd; after so long a Struggle, he had vanquish'd a stubborn and potent Faction; had the Necks of his Enemies*

mies under his Feet, and was now treated by his Subjects with a Reverence mixt with Fear, and a Love that resulted from Esteem. In such a Situation, it is unconceivable, that a Man in his Senses should surfeit of Happiness, long to return to his Bondage, and with his own Hands put on his Chains again; should now in perfect Ease and Safety sacrifice a Brother whom he tenderly lov'd, after having waded thro' so many Dangers to defend his Right of Succession, with the imminent Hazard of his own Possession; should abandon his Friends, who, with so great Fidelity had help'd to extricate him out of his Troubles, to the Revenge of Men, who would soon have involv'd both him and them in the same again, and on whom he had try'd so many Experiments of Bounty, Grace, and Mercy, to which he never found any Returns of Love, Duty, or Gratitude; as if Nature had induced one sort of Men with no other Passion, but that of Resentment. The Persons pretended to be the Managers of this Scheme, add to the Improbability, nothing being more strange, than that Monsieur *Barillon* the *French* Ambassador, should be in a Design to ruin the Duke of *York*, the immediate *Roman Catholick* Heir to the Crown. This knocks all on the Head that the Bishop has told us before, and entirely destroys all Notion of the Friendship and secret Alliance between
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French and English Popery. Nor is it less surprizing, when the Design was disappointed by the sudden Death of the King, that not one Person in the Plot should make his Court to the Successor, by telling so important a Secret, which must have prevented his taking into his Bosom immediately the very Men, who would have cut his Throat the Week before. Whoever can reconcile such a Design in King CHARLES to common Sense, may if he pleases believe Dr. Burnet.

WE are come at last to the End of King CHARLES's Reign, whose Death happen'd at this Time, of which the Author's Accounts, in regard to the Circumstances of his first being attack'd, and Sickness, are a little wide of Truth; but as his Mistakes are of no great Consequence, it is not worth while to disprove him; but the Story of the Priest who was frighted out of his Wits, so as to run against a Post, is a little remarkable. P. 607. *And when he (Huddleston) was told what was to be done, he was in great Confusion, for he had no Hostie about him. But he went to another Priest that liv'd in the Court, who gave him the Pix with an Hostie in it. But that poor Priest was so frighted, that he ran out of Whitehall in such Haste, that he struck against a Post, and seem'd to be in a Fit of Madness with Fear.* It is worth the Enquiry of some great Philosopher to find a

Reason for this prodigious Effect; that a Man should run out of his Wits, because a great King was going to do him the Honour to die in his Religion. It is highly probable that the Author mistook the Passion, and when he said Fear, meant Joy, which was much more natural to a *Romish* Priest on this Occasion, not only on the Account of so illustrious a Convert, but the Hopes of a *Popish* Successor. After all, it is Pity to spoil this pretty Romance by telling the Truth: The *Hostie* which was given to the King at this Time, was fetch'd from the Chappel at *Somerſet-house*, and consequently could not be obtain'd from a Priest, who liv'd in *Whitehall*, as he relates the Story. This entirely destroys the Tale of the Priest and the Post, written by the Author of the delightful History of the *Queen and the Cart*.

P. 610. To this I shall add a very surprizing Story, that I had in November, 1709. from Mr. Henly of Hampshire. He told me that when the Dutcheſs of Portsmouth came over to England in the Year 1689, he heard that she had talk'd as if King CHARLES had been poisoned, which he desiring to have from her own Mouth, she gave him this Account of it: She was always pressing the King to make both himself and his People easy, and to come to a full Agreement with his Parliament, and he was
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come to a final Resolution of sending away his Brother, and of calling a Parliament, which was to be executed the next Day after he fell into that Fit of which he died. She was put upon the Secret, and spoke of it to no Person alive, but to her Confessor: But her Confessor, she believ'd, told it to some, who seeing what was to follow, took that wicked Course to prevent it. This Story is told with more Circumstances and Solemnity than any of his other Hear-says, but it may be never the truer for that: Here we must depend upon the Veracity of two Persons, Dr. **Burnet** and Mr. *Henly*; so that we have a double Chance against the Truth of this Story: We observ'd before, that the Tale of the design'd Alterations was invented to support the Belief of the Poison, and now the Poison is introduc'd to support the Belief of the Alterations. When Things are dubious, we can only argue from Probability. The Death of King CHARLES was the greatest Blow to the Fortunes of the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, who had the most Interest in his Life of any one Person in the World; and the greatest Reason to detrude any Suspicion of his being poison'd. If that were true, all the World agrees with the Author, that the Fact was committed at her Lodgings; in which Case, let her be never so innocent, she must, of Course, be involv'd in some Share of the Suspicion. The King
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was under her Roof, and consequently under her Protection; she was in some Measure responsible for his Safety. Such a Secret must pass thro' very few Hands; and consequently make it more easy to guess at the Guilty, whom she would most certainly have delated, and endeavour'd to have brought to Justice; the least Sacrifice she could make to the Manes of her Royal Lover. As it is impossible that she herself should be guilty, and equally as difficult to conceive the Thing feasible to be done in her House, without her Discovery of the Authors, whom she would most certainly have expos'd to the Resentment of the Nation, we may justly conclude, that it was not done at all. The different Accounts of the Fact, add to the Improbability of it; some have reported that the Poison was given in Eggs drest with Ambergrease, a Dish peculiar to this Prince; others in Chocolate; and the Author, in Snuff, or Broth. This Variety in the Manner of the Performance, makes it all look like Invention, and the Story spurious, by having so many different Fathers. This Matter has been exhausted already by learned Men: Dr. *Welwood* has left it doubtful at last, tho' qualify'd by his Profession to be the best Judge. As the greatest Part of Mankind make their Passions and Prejudices, without consulting Reason, the Standards of their Belief; it will remain a moot Point

Point to the Day of Judgment. If King CHARLES was not poisoned, as we have Reason to believe, it is incredible that the Dutcheſs of *Portsmouth* ſhould have told this Story to Mr. *Henly*; if ſo, it is unlikely Mr. *Henly* ſhould tell it to the Biſhop of *Salisbury*. I can carry my Improbability no farther. 'Till that great Lady thinks fit to own that ſhe told this Story to Mr. *Henly*, we are not obliged to believe it from the laſt Hands: As what the Author ſays, is no Article of Faith, 'till better Proof, we muſt leave this Piece of ſecret Hiſtory among the Apocryphal Writings of the great **Burnet**.

GREATER Difficulties in the Belief of this Matter are to be encountered in Regard to the Conſequences that, humanly ſpeaking, muſt have followed the Diſappointment of the pretended Scheme. If the Dutcheſs of *Portsmouth*, the Lords *Sunderland* and *Gordolphin*, *Barillon*, and the King, had really formed a Deſign to lay aſide his Brother, in Favour of his natural Son, and that to prevent this, the King was poisoned, it follows, that the Party intereſted enough to commit ſo wicked an Action, muſt have diſcovered who were the Perſons concerned in this Scheme, as well as the Scheme it ſelf: I muſt then ask my Reader, what would be the natural Conſequences on King JAMES's
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Accession to the Throne; in the first Place, Monsieur *Barillon* at least would have been forbidden the Court, 'till his Master had justified his Conduct; the new King would have found himself under no Obligation from any Regard to his Brother, to have treated the Dutches of *Portsmouth* with such distinguishing Marks of Respect: In short, he must have been more than possesst to put one of those two Lords engaged in that Design, at the Head of his Councils and Administration; and the other so near the Person of his Queen.

AFTER having brought CHARLES II. to the Grave, he pursues him further, and continues his Malice in a false and defamatory Character, in which, like a Judge at a Tryal, he sums up the whole Evidence against him. Tho' it is just to defend the Injured, this Character is too long to be transcribed, and will too much tire the Reader: I shall therefore only make Remarks on some of the most obvious and flagrant Scandals. In this Description he is so very unjust to the good Qualities of this Prince, as to give them the Name of the neighbouring Vices: At this Rate no Pitch of Virtue can ever be guarded from Malice; Generosity is Extravagance, and Frugality Avarice. He says, *He lost the Battle of Worcester with too much Indifference*, and then he
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shewed more Care of his Person, than became one who had so much at Stake. Here that heroick Virtue, which Philosophy calls Fortitude, is termed by the Doctor Indifference: Not daring to arraign his personal Courage in the Field of Battle, he charges him with taking too much Care of his Person afterwards; this is the most natural Sense of the Words, but our Author is often equivocal. If he means too much Care of his Person in the Action, the Reflection is false, and if in the Flight, is stupid. The Behaviour of the young King on this Occasion, was so distinguished, as to extort the Praise of an Enemy, not over generous: He led on his Foot in Person, and made no small Impression on *Cromwell's* firmest Batallions. On this Occasion he had no less than two, if not three Horses killed under him; the Pikes and Bullets that reached the Horses were not far from the Rider. This is enough for his Courage in the Action. If the Author means too much Care of his Person afterwards, it is a very extravagant Censure; he would have had him stood still after a Rout, to be taken, and fall into the Hands of the Men who chopped off the Head of his Father: But the Reason he gives for such Despair is admirable, because he had so much at Stake, as if his Life was of less consequence on that Account, and not to be managed with common Discretion. His Address in
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concealing his Person by dissembling his Pain of Mind, and putting on an Air of Easiness, the sagacious Bishop calls Carelessness, and not acting the King in the Habit of a Peasant, Levity. Our wiser Author in that Condition, would have had him have kicked the Wench who gave him a Box in the Ear, for daring to strike a Monarch. *While he was abroad at Paris, Colen, or Brussels, he never seemed to lay any Thing to Heart. He pursued all his Diversions, and irregular Pleasures in a free Career; and seemed to be as serene under the Loss of a Crown, as the greatest Philosopher could have been.* So much the greater Hero, or better Christian. This depends on the Man, and not on the Conduct; what is Stupidity in a Fool, is Greatness of Mind in a wiser Man. When he talks of his irregular Pleasures, he must mean his Pursuit of Women. For Drinking was never his Vice, and for Gaming, he neither had Money, nor Inclination.

WE must here distinguish the Scenes of his Life, and not impute to his Youth the Faults of his riper Years. His Love of Women was after his Return, and not in his Exile before; except that one Instance of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Mother, there happened nothing abroad notorious enough to give publick Scandal, if we may believe Dr.

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Charlton and others, who knew him in his Youth much better than the Author; who are just to his Virtues, as well as severe to his Vices, and distinguish the Days of Guilt from those of Innocence; whereas the charitable Dr. **Burnet** makes the whole Tenour of his Life one and the same Debauch. If we may give Credit to the forecited Authorities, as we find them collected by Mr. *Echard*, we have a better and truer Account of his Youth. *Echard p. 770. And it is observed from a good Hand, that for many Years before his Return, he had been so chaste, or so cautious, that those about him could hear no Whisper of an indecent Gallantry.* This acquits him from those Vices ascribed by the Author to his younger Days; tho' the Weakness of his riper Years cannot be excused either in Morality or Religion. However, except the ill Consequences of a bad Example, these Crimes could not so much tarnish his Character in his publick Capacity. One of our greatest and most fortunate Monarchs, EDWARD IV. indulg'd this Vice of Women as much or more than CHARLES II. yet he has not been handed down to Posterity meerly on this Account as a very ill Man in the Colours of Dr. **Burnet**, who adds another Injustice to the Character of this Prince, when he tells us, that, *during his Exile, he delivered himself up so entirely to his Pleasures, that he became*

came incapable of Application ; he spent little of his Time in Reading or Study, and yet less in Thinking. The forementioned Author gives us a very different Account. P. lib. *These natural Endowments were highly improved, not only by his uncommon Industry, but by an unusual Train of Accidents unknown to other Princes. So that besides his great Skill in modern Languages, History, Mathematicks, and Navigation, &c.* If this is true, all that the Author has asserted on this Head is manifestly false; these difficult Sciences could not be attained without great Pains, and Application of the Mind, as well as Capacity; except, like another *Solomon*, this Prince owed his Knowledge to the Gift of Inspiration: After taxing him with Cruelty, when forced to allow that he sometimes forgave; he imputes this Goodness to Maxims of State, and not to his Nature: At this Rate the Virtues of all Mankind are precarious, and may be ascribed to vicious Causes.

P. 612. *He delivered himself up to a most enormous Course of Vice, without any Sort of Restraint, even from the Consideration of the nearest Relations.* We all know what he means: As he barbarously gave to a certain Princess before a great Number of Lovers, it is but adding this one Perjury
more

more to his solemn Appeal in his Preface, to make her and her Brother incestuous.

P. 18. *He went over these in a very graceful Manner, but so often and so very copiously, that all those who had been accustomed to them, grew weary of them; and when he entered on those Stories they usually withdrew.* My Lord Mulgrave was of another Mind. This Nobleman was educated in the Court of this Prince, was admitted into his Pleasures, and had the Honour to enjoy so agreeable a Conversation many Years. Besides these Advantages, the Greatness of his Parts, the Delicacy of his Taste, his perfect Knowledge of the greater World, and a superior Genius made him a better Judge, and much more capable of giving us true Ideas of this great King, than so unqualified a Man as the Author, whom an inveterate Prejudice had so blinded, as never to let him see any Virtue in an Enemy: Besides a constant Habit of Romancing, was become so natural by long Practice from his very Childhood, as to make him a little uneasy, whenever obliged to speak Truth. Nor was this all, his Blood was so soured by a narrow and vile Education among those Fanatick Covenanters in *Scotland*, as must of Course contract the Mind, gave a Meanness of Soul, and make him an Enemy to all that was Great and Noble.

I have drawn these two Writers of the same Character in their proper Colours, that when they clash and contradict one another, the Reader may know whom to believe the soonest. In Opposition to what he just now told us, how King CHARLES tired his Company by the frequent Repetition of his Stories, the nobler Writer gives us a contrary Account in these Words. *He was witty in all Sorts of Conversation, and telling a Story so well, that not out of Flattery, but the Pleasure of hearing it, we seemed ignorant of what he had repeated to us ten Times before, as a good Comedy will bear the being often seen.* This is very unlike to what the Author calls running away from his Stories.

THE Peer and the Prelate are so widely different in their Accounts of this Prince, that one or the other must be very much mistaken. Dr. Burnet says, *p. ibid. That he had great Vices but scarce any Virtues to correct them.* My Lord Mulgrave on the contrary tells us, *That his Temper both of Body and Mind, was admirable; which made him an easy and generous Lover, a civil and obliging Husband, a friendly Brother, an indulgent Father, and a good natured Master.* This short Character comprehends all the civil Offices of Life, and illustrates this Prince in every Capacity. If all.

all these good Qualities contain any Virtues, the Author very much abuses his Reader, when he paints a King adorned with so many Excellencies, in the hideous Colours of a Tyrant and Monster in Vice.

DR. Burnet says he was cruel, my Lord *Mulgrave*, of a merciful Disposition. The Reader may easily determine which to believe, when this unjust Man is so unluckily absurd, as to tax a Prince with the want of Bowels, who was remarkable for the contrary Quality; whose Mercy, in Regard to himself and Friends, was his greatest Fault; who suffered in his Reputation both at home and abroad by a too general and hasty Indulgence to his Enemies, in screening them from the Justice of his Parliaments, in lessening the Number designed to be excepted, and precipitating an Act of Indemnity before they deserved that Goodness.

NOT content to give him all the ill Qualities that he could imagine in human Nature, he thinks fit to compare him with one of the most flagitious of the *Roman* Emperors; and to support his Parallel, he tells you they were like in Countenance, and that he saw a Statue of *Tiberius* at *Rome*, which so resembled King CHARLES, as if it had been made for him. There is a great deal of Room left to Imagination and Fancy, in comparing the Likeness of Pictures; be-

sides there is no indisputable Certitude in so remote Antiquity, whether this Statue was genuine or no: Statues are not so undeniably sure as Medals, which have Letters and Names inscribed upon them. But supposing it made for *Tiberius*, it is possible, it might not be like him; we see at this Day in catching the Likeness, both Painters and Statuaries, tho' very great Artists, sometimes fail. But we will for once allow that King CHARLES resembled *Tiberius* in Visage, it will not follow that he must be like him in Manners. My Lord *Mulgrave* has destroyed this Consequence, when he tells us, *That he was an illustrious Exception to all the common Rules of Physiognomy; for with a most Saturnine harsh Sort of Countenance, he was both of a merry and merciful Disposition.*

WE will now examine his Parallel between King CHARLES and *Tiberius*. P. 613. *Tiberius's Banishment, and his coming afterwards to reign, makes the Comparison in that Respect come pretty near; his hating of Business, and Love of Pleasures; his raising of Favourites, and trusting them entirely, and his pulling them down, and hating them excessively; his Art of covering deep Designs, particularly of Revenge, with an Appearance of Softness brings them so near a Likeness, that I did not wonder much*

much to observe the Resemblance of their Face and Person. Without the same Motives and Reasons, both for their Banishment and Succession, those two Events under different Circumstances will not make the Cases parallel.

BUT *Tiberius* was not banished at all: This unlucky Man mistakes in the History of other Countries, as much as in his own; he made a voluntary Retreat to the Isle of *Rhodes*, went and came back with the Leave of the Prince to whom he was a Subject; CHARLES was expelled by the Rebellion of his own, *Tiberius* mounted the Throne, not without Suspicion of having unfairly removed his Predecessor, to whose Adoption he own'd all his Pretensions to Empire; CHARLES was called home to his undoubted Right by the unanimous Voice of his longing People. *Tiberius* put his Favourites to Death by an arbitrary and absolute Power, only to get their Riches; CHARLES never discarded his, till they had first betrayed him, and then resumed not the Grants and Bounties that he had given. With his own good Will, he punished none with Death, but pardoned Rebels, and them by the Laws of his Country, after they had tired his Patience by repeated Provocations, and made his Justice not more necessary to his own, than the Safety of his People.

Tiberius dissembled to over-reach and circumvent the Innocent; CHARLES thro' absolute Necessity to defend himself against the Designs of the Guilty. Nor was their Conduct and Habit of Life less different than their Manners; the one shut himself up in a little * Rock, with his Pantomimes, Cata-mites, Eunuchs, and other instruments of his unnatural Lusts; the other in all his Disorders kept himself within the Bounds of Nature, and was so far from absconding, or concealing his Person, that no King of *England* ever exposed himself so much to the View of his Subjects; not only twice or thrice yearly on his Throne in the great Assembly of his People, but shewed himself daily in his Parks, Gardens, or Tennis-Courts, where by his Activity and Vigour, he gave his good Subjects Hopes of enjoying him long, by adding Health to that Life, in which they had so great an Interest. At last the Catastrophes of these two Princes were as different as their Lives. *Tiberius* dyed abhorred and detested, loaded with the Execrations of the *Roman* World, as a Monster of Mankind, and an Excrescence of Nature. CHARLES grew more aimable, rever'd and almost adored, the nearer he approached his End; and when Death came,

* Island of Capreae.

expired amidst the Sighs, Tears, and Groans of a distracted People, who sacrificed to his Memory, by the most sincere and universal Mourning, that ever was known in *England* on the like Occasion.

THE Author would have been more lucky in his Choice, and have drawn a juster Parallel, if he had compared this Prince with the fortunate Predecessour of this infamous Tyrant. Such a Comparison would have given a better Opinion of his Judgment, as well as his Justice, and have made him concur with the greater Part of the World, who have always allowed and called the Times of King CHARLES II. the *Augustan Age* of *England*, so great was the Resemblance of Genius and Manners. Both these great Princes were invited to Empire after long and bloody civil Wars, whose Wounds they equally healed with the same pacifick Hands; they both alike pardoned their greatest Enemies, and both met with the same Returns; *England* had her *Cinnas* as well as *Rome*. The great Events of their Reigns were equally auspicious. They both saw their Capital Cities rebuilt with greater Magnificence; they both reformed the Rudeness in the Manners of the Age, and introduced a Politeness and Elegance unknown before, not more by their Encouragement, than Example. The Purity of the *Latin* and *English* Tongues are owing to the Care and Improvement

provement of those two Monarchs. The noblest Wits and diviner Poets flourished in their Times; Arts and Sciences sprung and bloomed in the Sun-shine of their warm Influence; the Muses and Graces attended them to the Throne, and vanished when they departed; as whatever was Noble and Great at *Rome*, was owing to *Augustus Cæsar*, so all that are illustrious at this Day among us in the nobler Sciences, had their Birth or Education under the auspicious Star of CHARLES II. In short, they both vanquished all Difficulties with the same Felicity, and after long, peaceful, and prosperous Reigns, dyed equally lamented by their Subjects. The only Difference between them was in Extent of Command, in the Greatness of Empire, and not of the Men.

By what has been said, the Reader may see the wrong and unjust Character the unworthy Author has given of this great Prince, and that no Virtue or Merit is out of the Reach of Malice. On this Occasion to confirm in his Reader the Belief of what he has asserted, he concludes with renewing his Impiety, appealing once more to the God of Truth, and using his Name to defend the blackest and most egregious Falshoods.

REMARKS



REMARKS

Historical and Critical :

BOOK IV.



WE are now come to a Reign, in which, for some Reasons, I shall be very reserved and laconick. The Author here is safe in his Trenches, and cannot be attacked without manifest Danger. To battle him now is a kind of Tryal ordeal; we must shut our Eyes, and to come at him pass over burning Plow-shears. However, in Matter of Fact, if he pleases to call it Noon, when the Sun is below the Horizon, tho' it may be

be too bold in plain Terms to say it is Night, we may venture to bring an Equation Table, and not be of both his Opinions, when he contradicts himself. He begins his Attack on this unfortunate Reign with a counterfeit Tenderneſs, which bodes no good to the unhappy Object of his Malice. The Writers of natural Hiſtory aſſure us, that there are certain terrible Animals, who always weep over the Prey they are going to devour. If it is ominous, as the Ancients believe, to ſtumble at the Threshold, we have no good Prefage of what is to come, and if he proceeds as he begins in this Reign, the Reader may expect a noble Hiſtory; for he opens the firſt Scene with a moſt notorious, and one of the leaſt ſupportable Falſhoods in all his Book.

P. 620. It was a heavy Solemnity. Few Tears were ſhed for the former, nor were there any Shouts of Joy for the preſent King. We will join Iſſue with the Author, and let all the Diſpute between us be decided by the Verity or Falſhood of this one Aſſertion. Tho' he is equally wrong in both, as to Fact; we ſhall not inſiſt on the Joy, which was as great as common Decency, after ſuch a Loſs, would permit; but as for the Grief, there never was ſuch a Scene of Woe in England: The Sorrow was ſo epidemical as not to diſtinguiſh Party: The
Senſe

Sense of the Loss so general, that the meaner Sort of the People, as well as the richer, paid their Tribute to his Memory; there was scarce a Servant Maid betwixt *White-Chappel* and *Westminster-Abby* who was not in black Crape, the Womens Mourning at this Time, upon this Occasion. For the Truth of this, we appeal to every Man or Woman now alive, who is old enough to remember so remarkable an Event.

By this it is plain, that Dr. Burnet, designed to justify the Character that he has given of King CHARLES, by making Posterity believe, that he was as little beloved by the Age in which he lived, as he would have him be esteemed by the Future. This must be his only View in denying a Scene of Grief so visible, notorious, and universal, as to leave no Possibility of escaping Observation; unless, by some peculiar Organization the Senses of this good Bishop so depended on one another, as to make him unable to see that Grief, which he could not feel.

P. 621. *The Marquess of Halifax had Reason to look on himself, as in ill Terms with the King: So in a private Audience, he made the best Excuses he could for his Conduct of late. The King diverted the*
Dis-

Discourse, and said, that he would forget every Thing that was past, except his Behaviour in the Business of the Exclusion. My Lord *Halifax* had particularly distinguished himself by supporting the Interest of the Duke in the Affair of the Exclusion, the Acknowledgment of which Service, by so fine a Turn, ought to be recorded among the Apophthegms of *Plutarch* and the Ancients. The Author certainly was not himself, when he had the good Nature to communicate to us, an Answer so genteel, so gracious, and at the same Time so grateful, as must set this Prince in so beautiful a Light, as we have no Reason to suppose that he cordially designed to place a Man, whom in all other Respects he has treated with the last Injustice.

P. 623. *Complaints came up from all the Parts of England of the Injustice and Violence used in Elections, beyond whatever had been practised in former Times. — They were neither Men of Parts or Estates; so that there was no Hope left of working on their Understandings, or making them see their Interest in not giving the King all at once; most of them were furious and violent, and seemed to recommend themselves to the King, by putting every Thing in his Power, &c. This is so far from Truth, that never were fewer Intrigues, less Management,*

ment, or Competition in any Election of Members. The Party disaffected at this Time were too weak to struggle with the Torrent; besides, they were so thunder-struck, and under such a Consternation in this Juncture, as to be glad to sit still, and compound to be quiet; they were justly afraid to revive the Memory, and by new Opposition awaken the old Resentment of their past Behaviour. In Regard to their Estates and Circumstances, I must refer the Reader to the printed List of that Parliament, by which, if he knows the Gentlemen of Fortune and Quality in the respective Counties in *England*, he will be able to judge of this Author's Integrity. This Parliament were good Subjects, when they had no Reason to be dissatisfied; and afterwards, as good Patriots, when they thought the Laws and Religion in Danger: The noble Stand that they then made, contradicts his Account of their Fury and Devotion to the Court; their being laid aside, and afterwards dissolved in Anger, absolutely confute this Calumny. When the Actions of Men speak so loudly, there is no Need of Words to defend them.

P. 637. For as the secular Court could not order his Ecclesiastical Habit to be taken from him. It is remarkable, that the first Time he shews any Concern for the Privilege

lege and Interest of the Clergy, is in behalf of Dr. Oates ; tho' it is a moot Point to this Day, whether he was ever canonically ordained or no ; of which we believe there are no very authentick Testimonials.

P. ibid. Speaking of *Dangerfield's* being whipped, he says, *But it had a more terrible Conclusion. For a brutal Student of the Law, who had no private Quarrel with him, but was only transported by the Heat of the Time, struck him over the Head with his Cane, as he got the last Lash. This hit him so fatally that he dyed of it immediately.* The Truth of this Story is so perverted in every Circumstance, as will convince the Reader of the Author's Talent in aggravating the Faults of the unfortunate, when not of his Party ; as also how little we can depend on the narrative Part of this History. He says that the Man, whose Name was *Francis*, struck him as he got the last Lash, and that he dyed immediately. In contradiction to this, the Reader must know, that the Execution of the Sentence was over, and *Dangerfield* brought back from *Tyburn* in a Coach, which, by some Accident stopped near *Grays-Inn*, *Francis*, who was a Student of that House, unfortunately approaching the Coach, ungenerously insulted a Man in that Condition, by asking him how he liked his Morning Heat, or Words to that Effect ;

Effect: Upon which the Prisoner hauked and spit in his Face; *Francis* surprized and provoked with this Affront, having a little *Bamboe* Cane in his Hand not bigger than the Tip of a Man's Finger, pushed it into the Coach, and unluckily thrust the Ferrel into his Eye. He lived so long afterward in *Newgate*, as to cause a very great Debate among the Surgeons, who attended the Coroners Inquest, whether or no he dyed of the Wound in his Eye, or of a Fever contracted by the Anguish and Pain of his Whipping. Nevertheless, the poor Man suffered the Rigour of the Law, tho' it could not be supposed, that with such an Instrument, he could have any Design to kill.

It not being convenient to encounter his Politicks, we are obliged more closely to observe his Matters of Fact. When he gives an Account of the Murder of *Lisle*, one of the Regicides, he is under a very great Mistake in one Circumstance, if the other printed Accounts of that Matter which I have seen, are true. P. 648. *But three desperate Irishmen hoping to make their Fortunes by such a Service, went thither and killed him as he was going to Church, and being well mounted and ill pursued got into France. The Persons that killed Lisle at Lausanne, retreated to the Boat that brought them, in which crossing the Lake, they*

they soon got out of the Dominions of that little State. One would have thought that the Author who had been on the Spot should have considered, that so mountainous a Country as *Switzerland*, was not the most proper for Horsemen to make their Escape. By this Mistake we may see, that a little more Judgment and Knowledge of Things were as necessary on one certain Occasion, as a good Memory.

P. 667. He called for many of them and spoke to them very earnestly on that Subject in his Closet ; upon which the Term of clo- setting was tossed about. Many of these gave him very flat and hardy Denyals : Others, tho' more silent, were not yet less steady. So that, when after a long Pract- ice both of Threatning and ill Usage on the one Hand, and of Promises and Corruption on the other, the King saw he could not bring them into a Compliance, he at last dis- solved the Parliament. Here is a noble Picture of the sublimest Virtue in Men, whom the Threats of a Prince could not ter- rify, nor Promises of Rewards, corrupt. How this agrees with his Character of the same Men just before, Mankind shall judge ; when p. 623. he was pleased to give us a different Idea of these Gentlemen, by tel- ling us that, Most of them were furious and violent, and recommended themselves to the
King;

King, by putting every Thing in his Power. Such a Change in so short a Time, exceeded the greatest Metamorphosis in Ovid; I leave the Reader to his own Comment.

P. 693. He said he had been nine Years married, and never had the Confidence to press this Matter on the Queen, which he said, I had now brought easily in a Day. What would have been Confidence in a Husband, must certainly be somewhat more in Dr. Burnet. I cannot imagine why he tells this Story, except it is to let us know that so wise and penetrating a Prince, joyned in the same Opinion of his Modesty with the rest of the World.

HE now comes to the memorable Year 88, in which happened a very momentous Incident; on this he spends several Pages, in all which I shall not presume to contradict him, but refer the Reader to a more unexceptionable Author, the famous Mr. **William Fuller**, who has obliged the World with a more pertinent, coherent, and plausible Account of this Matter. As these two great Men absolutely contradict one another, it is impossible that both should be in the Right. I will not prejudice or influence the Reader in behalf of Mr. **Fuller** against

against the Bishop ; but as they both stand upon an equal Foot of Credit with the greater Part of the World, fairly leave it to his own Decision, which he will believe, the Priest, or the Layman.

P. 795. *So she went to Portsmouth, and from thence in a Man of War over to France.* Tho' it is of no great Consequence in what Port the Queen embark'd ; yet it shews the Negligence of this Writer, and what little Care he took to be well inform'd in common Matter of Fact. The Queen crossed the *Thames* from *Whitehall* to *Lambeth*, where she took Coach and went to *Gravesend* ; here she embarked on a Vessel prepared for this Purpose, sailed down the River, and landed at *Calais*. I could give the Reader Instances of such Mistakes in every Page of this Reign, if it were necessary to convince him more of this Author's repeated Falshoods. If he is so erroneous in his own Times, and in Things of which he may be supposed to be a Witness, how little is he to be depended on in the remoter Scenes of his Book, where he cannot be contradicted. Beside, the wrong Turns and Disguises of Fact, the positive Assertions contrary to Truth so universally spread thro' this Book, makes me remember a Story of the famous *Harry Killigrew*, who had much more

more Wit than came to one Man's Share. This Gentleman being ask'd what Relation he had to Lying, *Killigrew*, pleasantly reply'd, *Sir, that is no Distinction in our Family, we are all Lyars, my Father was a Lyar, my Uncles were Lyars, my Brothers were Lyars, and I myself am a very great Lyar, but I suppose you mean my Cousin Will, who never spoke one Word of Truth.*

A Man may have Leave to be free with himself; tho' this was not true as to Fact, there having been a great many Persons of Probity of that Family and Name, we must allow for the Extravagance of Wit and Humour. If this merry Story is applicable to any Book now extant in the World, it is to this before us, in which, without any Aggravation or Hyperbole, we may boldly affirm, not to mention Faults and Mistakes common to other Men, there are as many positive Untruths, and which the Author knew in his Conscience to be such, as there are Pages in the Book, whose Number amounts to 826.

It is now high Time to draw to a Conclusion of this Work, in which I hope that I have given my Readers no Offence by exceeding the Bounds of Decency and good Manners, notwithstanding the great Provocations that he has given. I am not ashamed to be thought

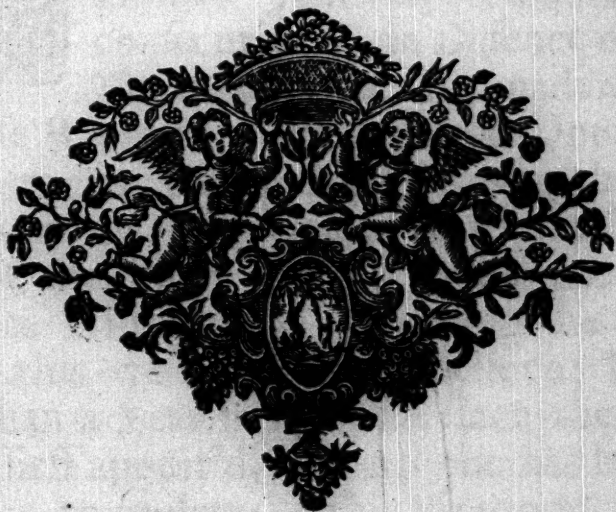
good natur'd, and must therefore own, that when I have been obliged to treat him with Severity, it was a Violence to my Inclinations. But if a Man will break thro' all the Fences of Decency and common Justice, make War upon Truth and Virtue, and thus run a Muck at Mankind, he must be disarm'd, regarded as mad, and be bound and chain'd like a Mad-man. An unfair Enemy has no Right to the Law of Arms, and can expect no more Quarter, than he himself has given.

HERE I am obliged to leave him, tho' not for want of Matter; in that he is never deficient: But I have now brought him down to the Brink of the Revolution, a Sea, too deep and dangerous for me to fathom. The secret Springs of that great Event, like the Fountains of *Nile*, are * inscrutable; Whirlwinds and Thunder forbid the Search of what is too sacred for our Speculation. However, I flatter my self that I have almost hunted him down; and tho', like a

* The Source of *Nile*, tho' now discovered, was unknown to the Ancients: The *Egyptians* had such an Opinion of the Sanctity of this River, that they thought the Gods would not permit his Head to be known. *V. Herodotus, Justin, &c.*

Fox, the harder he is prest, and the nearer to Death, he leaves a Scent much the stronger, he runs too rough Ground for me to follow: The Reader will therefore excuse my Cowardice, if I found a Retreat, and quit a Chace where the Neck is in Danger.

— *Tu, sapiens, finire memento.*



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P O S T.

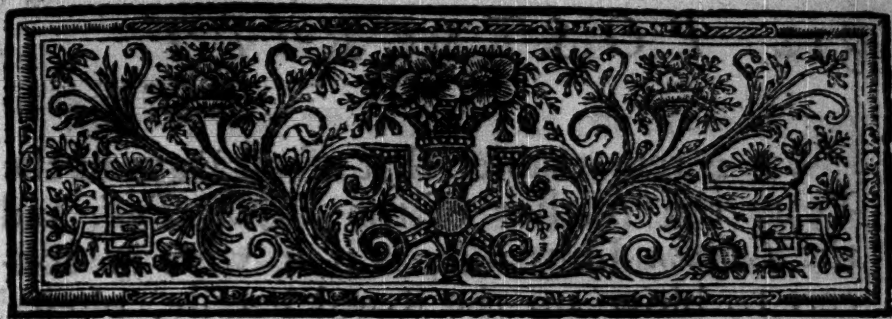
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For this matter is in the hands of the
to be the same as the other two
in the same way as the other two
follow: The first is the same as the other two
my Government. I find a Roman and
first Chinese who is in the same
get the same as the other two

The second is the same as the other two
to be the same as the other two
in the same way as the other two
follow: The first is the same as the other two
my Government. I find a Roman and
first Chinese who is in the same
get the same as the other two

The third is the same as the other two
to be the same as the other two
in the same way as the other two
follow: The first is the same as the other two
my Government. I find a Roman and
first Chinese who is in the same
get the same as the other two

The fourth is the same as the other two
to be the same as the other two
in the same way as the other two
follow: The first is the same as the other two
my Government. I find a Roman and
first Chinese who is in the same
get the same as the other two



POSTSCRIPT.



SOON after the Publication of this Book, there appeared in the *London Journal*, two Weeks consecutively, in Defence of Dr. Burnet, some Animadversions on these Remarks. Wrong, and Unjust, as they were, we deferred to answer them at that Time, in Expectation, that some Champion of the Party would vindicate their favourite Historian by answering the whole Book; this we were made believe; but as more than a Year has elapsed since these Remarks first appear'd, and no one has been so hardy as to undertake this Province, so difficult it is for the Wit of Man to make Truth Falshood; we have thought fit to take this Opportunity of a second Edition, to shew the Injustice, as well as Inconsistencies of these Animadversions.

IT is remarkable, that of all Days in the Year, the Author of the *Flying Post*, and the *London Journalist*, as if it were in concert to blow up the Royal Family, pitch'd upon the **Thirtieth of January** to worry the Memory of the martyr'd King and his Father. The first of these Writers fell under the Censure of the Administration, for the impudent Falshoods, that he asserted on that Occasion; how the other came to escape, we know not, tho' his Guilt was aggravated by this Circumstance, that his present Majesty is immediately descended from the Loyns of this Prince whom he so vilifies, and makes the greatest Knave and Hypocrite that ever wore a Crown. How fine a Compliment he has made to the King, in thus abusing his Great-grand-father, I leave the World to judge.

HE begins his Attack with accusing me of personally ill treating Archbishop *Tillotson*, and Bishop **Burnet**; his Words are these.
 “ As for the personal and gross Abuses of
 “ the Archbishop and Bishop **Burnet**,
 “ which the Author has taken implicitly
 “ from an old Libel of Dr. *Hicks* against
 “ them; it is enough to say, that there was
 “ a very full Answer to it written in the
 “ Year 1696, by the Bishop himself, in
 “ which every particular Slander was an-
 “ swer'd,

“swer’d, and to which not the least Reply
 “was ever made.” The Journalist is very
 much mistaken; I had not the Story of Dr.
Tillotson’s Grace, from the Book of Dr.
Hicks, as he asserts; I had my self the Ac-
 count at *Cambridge* above eight or nine
 Years before that Book of Dr. *Hicks* ever
 appear’d: The Story was occasionally told
 me, by my happening to make a Visit in
 the same Chambers, where that great Man
 resided, when he was of *Clare-Hall*; the
 Rooms stood in the same Place, tho’, as I
 remember, the College had been rebuilt.
 The Tradition was universal, and pass’d
 uncontradicted in the University, at which
 time there were several Persons old enough
 to have remember’d this Incident, and who
 wanted not Inclination to have done Justice
 to Dr. *Tillotson* by disproving this Slander,
 if there had been any room to have contra-
 dicted the Fact. As Dr. *Tillotson* never
 thought fit, as I could hear, to justify him-
 self against this Aspersion, during his own
 Life, by any solemn and publick Denial of
 the Fact, it is to be presum’d, that he had
 too much Conscience to tell a positive Un-
 truth, and too much Candor to disown an
 Indiscretion of his younger Days, of which
 it is possible, that he might have been both
 ashamed and repented. What Dr. *Burnet*
 says in his Justification two Years after his
 Death, will bear very little Weight with all
 who

who know him: The Argument that Dr. *Hicks* never thought fit to rejoin, and answer Dr. *Burnet*, will fall to the Ground, when we consider the Circumstances of the Times in which Dr. *Hicks* wrote; he had averr'd this Story of Dr. *Tillotson* in writing, and could not bring any farther Testimony, but the personal Evidence of those who knew this Matter, who must be supposed too cautious to expose themselves by appearing in such a Cause, where the Current of the Times was wholly against them, especially, if they expected any Preferment in that Government. All the Proofs that Dr. *Burnet* brings, is the Testimony of some Persons who lived at that time, and who pretend not to have heard this Story. This is at best but a negative Argument, and will be very unconvulsive as to the Proof, or Disproof in Matter of Fact. For these Gentlemen to pretend that they did not remember this Story so many Years after, was a very easy Compliment to the Memory of Dr. *Tillotson*; it is what good-natur'd Men, on the like Occasion, without any great Breach of Morality, do every Day, thro' Tendernefs of hurting the Reputation of another; but if the same Persons had been examin'd in a Court of Justice on this Head, it is highly probable, that the Awe and Solemnity of an Oath, might have awaken'd and refresh'd their Memories.

HIS

HIS next Objection, is for charging Dr. **Burnet** with want of Charity, when he asserts, that the Duke of *Lenox* was a Papist, tho' he had so much Reason to believe the contrary. For the Proof of this Charge, I have quoted Archbishop *Spotswood*, who has given us an Account of a Proclamation at this time by King *James VI.* to clear the Duke from this Aspersion. 'This Writer denies not, that there was such a Proclamation, but makes this extraordinary Compliment to the Memory of that Prince. "I believe
 " no Body will doubt, that the Archbishop
 " tells the Truth, when he says, that such a
 " Proclamation was issu'd, but whether
 " that Proclamation contains a true or false
 " Account, depends not on the Credit of
 " Archbishop *Spotswood*, but the King him-
 " self. It was published in order to justify
 " the King in adhering to a Favourite, for
 " whom the whole Nation had an Aversion,
 " and whom they suspected of being a false
 " Convert, and whom the Nobility had
 " forc'd from him, and oblig'd to retire in-
 " to *France*, and whither that King had
 " such an inviolable Regard to Truth, as
 " to make him incapable of setting out an
 " untrue Fact, when it was for his Interest
 " to do it, I leave to the Judgment of all,
 " who know any thing of this History, &c."

When this Animadverter appeals to all, who
 have

have read the History of K. JAMES in regard to their Belief of this Matter, I must tell him, that he is very much mistaken, if he thinks the Generality of Men as uncharitable as himself; none but the most deeply prejudiced, without better Proof, will believe a Prince capable of so base a Forgery, such an Imposition on Mankind, with the Solemnity of a Royal Proclamation, the Contents of which, if not true, could so easily, and would so certainly have been disprov'd at the Time. That the Nobility in this Juncture, forced that innocent Nobleman from the Arms of the King his Kinsman and Master, will be no great Discredit to the Duke of *Lenox*: When we reflect on the Rage of the Sedition, the universal Diffusion of the Poyson, which has made the *Scotch* History of these Times read so black; we shall the less wonder, that a turbulent and factious Nobility, who had imbib'd such horrid Principles, and were unrestrain'd by any Sense of Duty to God or their King, should by Violence banish their fellow Subject, when the same Men made no Scruple more than once to seize and imprison the Person of their Prince. What this Writer insinuates, seems no very good Argument, when he urges, that "Archbishop *Spotswood* saying so little on this Occasion, and making no Remarks of his own upon it, but barely relating the Proclamation, and the
— King's

“ King’s Motives for issuing it, makes it
 “ very doubtful, whether or no, he was sa-
 “ tisfied of the Truth of it. ” This odd
 Way of Reasoning, obliges us to repeat the
 Archbishop’s Words, that the Reader may
 the better judge of his Sentiments on this
 Occasion. *Spotswood*, p. 324. “ This the
 “ King made to be proclaim’d at *Edenburgh*,
 “ that the People might see what Wrong the
 “ Duke had sustain’d, during his Abode in
 “ the Realm; by the uncharitable Suspicion
 “ both of Ministers and others. ” As these
 are the Archbishop’s own Words, and not
 those of the Proclamation, it is a sufficient
 Remark to convince every one, that *Spots-*
wood in his own Opinion believed the Duke
 of *Lenox* to be injured, and as to his Senti-
 ments of K. JAMES, we shall have Occasion
 by-and-by, to let the World see what that
 reverend Prelate thought of this injur’d
 Prince. His next strong Argument to en-
 force this Matter is, that *Spotswood* says,
 “ Yet did not this remove the Jealousies
 “ of the People. ” That may be true, and
 yet the Jealousies never the better grounded.
 It is the Misfortune of Innocence not to be
 always vindicated at the Time, tho’ the
 Goodness of Providence, generally does Jus-
 tice to the injured at last. We all know,
 that CHARLES I. and Archbishop LAUD
 suffer’d under the Calumny of being popish-
 ly inclin’d, as well as K. JAMES I. The
 Puritans

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Puritans of their Times were as wicked as their Predecessors; if Truth, Reason, and Justice could have removed those Jealousies, and open'd the Eyes of the People: We had miss'd the Calamities of a civil War, and that orthodox, persecuted Church of *England*, so glorious in her sufferings, would have been less triumphant in one respect, by wanting in her Martyrology, the King and the Prelate.

HIS next Argument to prove the Duke a Papist, is the old Story of *Dispensations from Rome, whereby the Catholicks were permitted to promise, swear, subscribe, and do what else should be required of them, &c.* this has been charg'd on the Catholicks, not only in *Scotland*, but in other Countries, and always deny'd by them with the Solemnity of dying Affeuerations; so that we thought this Chimera had been long enough ago exploded by all Men of good Sense and common Ingenuity: If such a thing could be done, the *Roman Catholicks of England* at this Day, must be not only Fools, but downright Madmen, to pay double Taxes, lye under so many Incapacities, with all the Terror of Penal Laws hanging constantly over their Heads, and which may be put in execution every Day, at the Caprice of every Constable. What Men in their Senses would suffer all this Uneasiness, if the Pope could

could give them Leave to dissemble their Religion, and by taking Oaths and Tests qualify themselves to enjoy the Privileges of *Englishmen*, and be on an equal Foot with the rest of their Fellow-subjects? The following Reason to prove the Duke of *Lenox's* Religion is not much stronger; here the Journalist forgets himself, after having own'd the Truth of the Proclamation mentioned by *Spotswood*, he draws an Argument against it from the Silence of *Melvil* in not taking Notice of it; *Melvil* was certainly in the right, after having call'd the Duke Papist, not to bring so authentick a Testimony to confute his own Injustice. This Writer might equally infer from the Silence of Dr. **Burnet** in not mentioning this Proclamation, tho' they both without Dispute knew of it; *Melvil* liv'd at the Time, and was a Witness to the Thing; Dr. **Burnet** had read the *Scotch* History, and the Incident was too remarkable, not to be industriously forgotten: But the same Reason influences Dr. **Burnet** as well as *Melvil*; he was unwilling to give himself the Lye; however, he was a little discreeter, and knew the World better than **Britanicus**; this prevented him from making so weak an Objection, as to question the Truth of the Fact in the Proclamation, for which Reason, he would not mention that Paper at all; he was too sensible, that if the Duke of *Lenox* had

had dy'd really in the Communion of *Rome*, the Vanity of that Church, without any regard to the immediate Interest of K. JAMES, would soon have contradicted his *Scottish* Majesty, and not let him have rob'd them, by making so illustrious a Convert. This Reflection justly prevented him from charging on a Prince so absurd a Calumny, as to make him tell so solemn a Lye in a Royal Proclamation, and in Case of Fact, which if not true, would have been disprov'd on the Spot. Dr. **Burnet**, rash and hardy as he was with all his Assurance, could not go such a Length, but left this Province to the *London Journal*.

HIS next Attack on me is for charging Dr. **Burnet** again with want of Charity, in positively asserting, that K. JAMES wrote to the Pope; on this Occasion, he says, that "I make it a Thing impossible to believe, " because one who endeavours, as K. JAMES " did, to prove the Pope to be Antichrist, " could never have written a Letter to " him." He is very much mistaken; the Strength of my Argument turns upon another Point, *viz.* My Lord *Balmerinock's* solemn Acquittal of the King, when that Minister lay under Sentence of Death; the other is only a collateral Suggestion of the Improbability of the Thing, from the King's writing against the Pope. As most of his
Objec-

Objections on this Head are the same with Dr. Burnet's. I must refer the Reader to the Answers I have made in the Book itself, and shall therefore only take Notice of this Writer's additional Arguments, which are long Quotations from Cardinal *D' Ossat's* Letters, and are at best so far from Proofs, that they rather destroy the main Point for which he contends, *viz.* the King's writing to the Pope. He owns himself that the Cardinal is in the Dark. His Words are these, " But as he was in the Dark about those
 " Designs and Persons, he proposes two probable Opinions concerning them. The
 " Substance of the first Opinion is, that the
 " King or some Lords by his Order, (for he
 " says that he does not know that this Agent
 " brought any Letters from the King himself) sent him again to the Pope to favour
 " his Succession to the Crown of *England*". This is a noble Argument to prove the Certitude of the King's writing to the Pope; because a great Cardinal, who was vers'd in all the publick Affairs of that Time, and who probably would have known this Matter, if true, positively affirms that he did not know it. The Substance of his second Opinion is, " That not the King, nor his
 " Dependents, sent this Agent, but the Catholick and disaffected Lords of his Country, (tho' he expressly adds that the Man
 " had said, that he was sent by the King
 Y him

" himself, where he thought it would re-
 " commend him) and that the End of the
 " Lords in sending him was to desire the
 " Pope to admonish him to restore the Li-
 " berty of the Catholick Religion in Scot-
 " land ". This second Opinion of the Car-
 dinal, that neither the King, or his Depen-
 dents, sent this Agent, is still a stronger In-
 ducement to make us believe that the King
 did not write to the Pope, tho' he brings it
 as an Argument to prove the Affirmative.
 To confront this precarious way of Reason-
 ing, we have the Asseveration of a Man
 under Sentence of Death, and the Word of
 a great Prince, who positively denies it; not-
 withstanding all which, Dr. **Burnet** and
Britannicus will believe neither of them:
 At this rate of Judging we must conclude
 that there is no such Thing as Honour, or
 Conscience; and that in Things doubtful
 and ill prov'd, neither Humanity, or Reli-
 gion obliges us to incline to the charitable
 Side. There are some Men in the World,
 who measure the Consciences of others by
 their own, and believe that all Men act, as
 they themselves would on the same Occasi-
 on. Because the King of *Scotland*, as he
 insinuates, tho' without Proof, wrote to the
 King of *Spain*, he would infer from thence,
 that he was of the same Religion; Princes
 of different Communions daily correspond
 without that Consequence; the King of
Scotland's

Scotland's writing to the King of *Spain*, if true, made him no more a Papist, than the King of *Spain's* receiving a Letter from the King of *Scotland* made him a Protestant. His next Authority will be of equal Weight, to prove this Fact on the King; this is a Letter from the same Cardinal *D' Ossat* to the King of *France*, dated from *Rome* in the Year 1596. " To Day after
 " Dinner I had an Audience of the Pope,
 " and acquainted his Holiness with the Con-
 " tents of the Duke of *Sesse's* Letter con-
 " cerning the King of *Scotland*, which was
 " intercepted and decypher'd, to which his
 " Holiness made me no Answer; only when
 " I asked him, if he had a Mind that your
 " Majesty should send him the Original Let-
 " ter; he answer'd, that there was no Oc-
 " casion ". What is this to the Purpose in
 proving that King JAMES wrote to the Pope? Here is a Letter intercepted in *France* concerning King JAMES; at the same Time we are told no Contents of this Letter, by whom, and to whom it was written, nor on what Occasion; and yet this is brought to support Dr. *Burnet's* positive Assertion, that King JAMES wrote to the Pope. As the whole Tenour and Conduct of that Prince's Life in regard to Religion, absolutely destroy all just Suspicion of his being a Papist, and consequently the Probability of his Writing to the Pope, I must once more

charge Dr. **Burnet** with Rashness and want of Charity in accusing this King of a Fact, to prove which he and his Friend have brought so little Evidence. But **Britannicus** goes beyond Dr. **Burnet**, the last only makes him inclin'd to Popery, whereas the first says positively that he was a Papist. For after having, as he thinks, prov'd by Sr. *Ralph Winwood's* Memoirs that he corresponded with *Spain*, and by Cardinal *D' Ossat's* Letters that he wrote to the Pope, tho' those Letters intimate positively the contrary, he is pleased to draw a very strange Consequence in using my own Words on another Occasion, "What greater Evidence can we have of a Man's Religion"? If this is Logick, let us burn *Aristotle* and *Burgersdicius*. At this rate of judging Men and Things, when we reflect on the equivocal Manner, the constant Disguise and Sophistry of a certain Writer, we have more Probability, greater Motives of Credibility to sway our Belief, that such a Man is a Jesuit, at least has very much convers'd with Jesuits, than that King **JAMES VI.** of *Scotland* was a Papist.

HIS next Complaint is, that the good Bishop is abus'd for saying "that **K. JAMES** "set on the Murder of the Earl of *Murray*, "upon a secret Jealousy that the King had "conceived of him". And with very good Reason;

Reason ; till that Matter is undeniably proved, it cannot be positively affirm'd, without the greatest Breach of Charity, and a Violation of all that is sacred in regard to the Dead, by charging an innocent Person, especially a King, with one of the most horrid, and atrocious of Crimes. The Reader will find most of his Arguments on this Head confuted before in my Answer to Dr. **Burnet**; but **Britannicus** gives a very wrong Turn to the Matter, and would have you believe, that I make Archbishop *Spotswood* ground the Death of the Earl of *Murray* upon his having been in *Bothwell's* Conspiracy ; I say no such Thing, and have only quoted the Archbishop's Narrative of the Matter; upon this I make my own Reflections on the Justice of the Proceeding in the Case of the Earl of *Murray*, who by his Rashness justified his Fate; and at the same Time I assert the King's Innocence. Upon a due Examination of this Matter, it will be found that the Point doth not turn upon the Earl of *Murray's* being really Guilty, or not Guilty ; that is wholly out of the Case. *Spotswood* tells you, " That a Rumor was spread, that the Earl " of *Murray* was seen in the Palace with " *Bothwell* the Night of the Enterprize, and " upon this, *Huntley* prevail'd on the King " to grant him a Commission to apprehend " *Murray*, and bring him to Tryal". Every

ry Government has a right to bring their Subjects to a fair Tryal according to the Prescription of the Laws, and the Subject at the same Time is obliged to submit to all the legal Methods employ'd to bring him to such a Tryal, by which he has an Opportunity of purging himself. But if a Man will be so rash and desperate as to resist Authority, he must thank himself for all the Consequences; such was the present Case. Here is a Lord Lieutenant of a County, and a Sheriff, with a Warrant from the King, go to apprehend a Nobleman, who, tho' summon'd to surrender according to Form of Law, resists, kills the Sheriff, and is himself killed in the Dispute, in Heat of Blood. To make this Argument *à fortiori*, we will wave the Authority of a Lord Lieutenant and a Sheriff, the chief Officers under the King, in the Discharge of the executive Power, and suppose a common Constable with a legal Warrant from a Justice of Peace, should kill a Man wrongfully in apprehending him; I appeal to all the World, nay to **Britannicus** himself, whether or no the Justice or Magistrate, who gave such legal Warrant, could be responsible for the ill Conduct of the Officer in the Execution of it. By Parity of Reason, King JAMES must be acquitted of any Guilt in this Affair, supposing the Earl of *Huntley* had acted never so wrong; but by *Spotswood's* Account, no
Body

Body transgress'd the Law, but *Murray* himself, and consequently he had the Guilt of his own Blood on his own Head.

THIS Writer has more than once insinuated as if *Spotswood* had an ill Opinion of K. JAMES in both Affairs, that of the Duke of *Lenox*, and that of the Earl of *Murray*: To find whether or no he is not unjust to the good Archbishop, we must see the Character, which that Prelate has given of this Prince at the End of his Life. *Spotswood*, p. 546. " The *Thursday* before his
 " Death, he desired the blessed Sacrament
 " to be ministred unto him, which he re-
 " ceived with great Devotion, professing
 " to the Prince his Son, and those who stood
 " by, that he had received a singular Com-
 " fort thereby, wishing all Men to do the
 " like, when they were visited in that Sort.
 " From that Time to the Hour of his
 " Death, he was still almost praying, and
 " had some Sentence of Piety in his Mouth.
 " As he drew near to his End, the Prayer
 " usually said at the Hour of Death being
 " ended, having repeated once or twice
 " these Words, *Veni Domine Jesu*, he gave
 " up the Ghost, without any Pangs that are
 " commonly seen in Persons that are dying.
 " He was the *Solomon* of this Age, admir-
 " ed for his wise Government and his
 " Knowledge in all Manner of Learn.

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“ for his Wisdom, Moderation, and Love
 “ of Justice; for his Patience and Piety,
 “ which shined above all his other Virtues,
 “ and is witnessed in the learned Works he
 “ left to Posterity. His Name shall never be
 “ forgotten, but remain in Honour as long
 “ as the World endureth. We that had the
 “ Honour and Happiness many Times to
 “ hear him discourse of the most weighty
 “ Matters, as well of Policy as Divinity;
 “ now that he is gone, must comfort our-
 “ selves with the Remembrance of these
 “ Excellences, and must reckon it not the
 “ least Part of our Happiness to have lived
 “ in his Days”. The Reverend Writer,
 who gives us this Character, was a Man
 of too good Sense to be very much deceiv’d
 in a Person with whom he was so well and
 so long acquainted; and was too honest a
 Man, if he had other Sentiments, to impose
 on the World; He was a kind of Confessor
 to this Prince; at least, tho’ not under
 that Name, had the Direction of his Con-
 science; consequently he must know him
 much better than Dr. **Burnet**, or his Friend
Britannicus: Besides, when he wrote this,
 he had one Foot in the Grave, and being at
 the same Time elevated to the highest Sta-
 tion in the Church of *Scotland*, the Prima-
 cy of *St. Andrews*, could lie under no
 Temptation of Flattery: All this consider’d,
 we appeal to the Conscience of the Reader,
 nay

nay of **Britannicus** himself, whether or no it is conceivable, that this great and good Man should give such a Character of a Prince, whom he believ'd guilty of the vilest Hypocrisy in regard to his Religion, of the meanest Disingenuity, nay a kind of Forgery in the Affair of the Proclamation, and of so execrable a Sin, as wilful and premeditated Murder in the Case of the Earl of *Murray*. These divine Qualities, Wisdom, Moderation, Love of Justice, Patience, and Piety are absolutely incompatible with the Guilt of Hypocrisy and Murder, which are the Crimes fix'd upon this Prince by Dr. **Burnet**, who must justly suffer in the Opinion of the World, for thus outraging so much Virtue; and if he is to be condemned, how much greater a Weight of Guilt must that Man bear, who with every Circumstance of Aggravation endeavours to support and make good these Calumnies; but tho' he has not been able to defend his Friend, he has done him some Service in making him a kind of Foil to him, and in convincing the World, that it was possible for Dr. **Burnet** to leave behind him a Man more unjust than himself.

THE next Injustice charg'd on me by this Writer, is the Affair of my Lord *Antrim*: Here he fancies that he has sufficiently justify'd his Friend, by charging the Marquess with

with Crimes which are nothing to the purpose in the Dispute between us. It is evident, and may be seen with half an Eye, that the Design of the Bishop in charging my Lord *Antrim* with much Bloodshed, and then telling the World that he was clear'd by producing Letters from CHARLES I. and his Queen, was to involve them in the Guilt of the Massacre. To render this improbable, I argued, that if my Lord *Antrim* had been really guilty of so much Bloodshed, he would most certainly have been severely punish'd by the Rump Parliament, or *Cromwell*; for we find no such Marks of Lenity in those Governments, to make us possibly believe that they would have let such an enormous Criminal escape, especially when they were tempted by the Confiscation of so noble an Estate; on the contrary, we find so severe an Inquisition into that Affair, as involv'd the Innocent as well as the Guilty. All that *Britannicus* can say in answer is, "That it is to be presum'd that he kept out of the Way, or else they would not have let him have sat quiet". And in another Place he says, "And I believe by which ever Commission he acted, the Parliament and *Cromwell* would have judg'd it unlawful, and have punish'd him accordingly, if they had got him into their Hands". With *Britannicus*'s leave, there is no Presumption against matter of Fact; it is notoriously

toriously known, that the Marquess of *Antrim* sat unmolested at his Seat in the North of *Ireland*, during the twelve Years of the Usurpation: But let us suppose, for once, that he had absconded; if they could not have caught his Person, they could have caught his Estate, he could not have carry'd the County of *Antrim* away on his Back: But Bishop **Burnet** himself tells us, that he was in full Possession of that great Estate, and had settled it on his Brother at the time of the Restoration. To support the Charge of the Bishop against this Nobleman, **Britannicus** brings several other Crimes against him. These are eight in Number. The first is,

THAT the Marquess of *Antrim* was to have had a Hand in surprizing the Castle of *Dublin*, 1641.

Secondly, That he was of the Rebels Party before the 15th of *September*, 1643.

Thirdly, That he enter'd into the *Roman Catholick* Confederacy before the Peace in 1643.

Fourthly, That he constantly adher'd to the Nuncio's Party, in Opposition to his Majesty's Authority.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, That he sat from Time to Time in the supreme Council of *Kilkenny*.

Sixthly, That he signed the execrable Oath of Association.

Seventhly, That he was commission'd, and acted as Lieutenant General from the said Assembly at *Kilkenny*.

Eighthly, That he declar'd, by several Letters of his own penning, himself to be in Conjunction with *Owen Roe Oneal*, &c.

WE will tell *Britannicus* another Crime, which would have incapacitated my Lord *Antrim* from receiving any Benefit from the Act of Settlement, this is, if he had ever asserted the Regal against the Papal Authority, and ever after had repented, so as to have received Absolution for it, such a qualm of Conscience would have intirely disqualify'd him. But all this is nothing to the Purpose, my Lord *Antrim* might have done all these things without any Guilt, if he had the King's Consent and Authority; whoever has that Sanction can be no Rebel by the Laws of *England*; and no body will deny, but that the King can give any of his Subjects leave to correspond and mix with his Enemies, if he thinks it for his Service; this would

would certainly excuse my Lord *Antrim* at the Restoration, when the Son of King CHARLES was on the Throne: Though I must entirely join with **Britannicus** in Opinion, that such a Plea would have done him very little Service with the Gentlemen of Forty one: Those Tyrants, if they could have pick'd these Holes in his Coat, would have had very little Mercy on a faithful Subject, who made no scruple to arraign his and their King and Master as a Traytor. To end this Dispute, the whole Affair turns on this one Point of Bloodshed, of which there is not the least mention in these eight Articles against the Marquess. In Geometrical, the most certain of all Demonstration, Arguments *ab absurdo* are as strong and conclusive as the most positive Inferences; we must therefore once more affirm, that, if humanly speaking, it was morally impossible for my Lord *Antrim* to have been guilty of the Massacre, or any such Bloodshed, without being severely chastis'd by *Cromwell*, or the Rump, when they had him in their Power; and it evidently appears to the contrary, that he was not chastis'd by *Cromwell*, or the Rump, though they had him in their Power; it will follow, that it is morally impossible for my Lord *Antrim* to have been guilty of the Massacre, &c. Consequently, the Letters of the King and Queen could not excuse a Man in the Commission of a Fact which

which he did not commit; and of course the Malice of Dr. **Burnet** is defeated.

AFTER this train of undeniable Consequences, there remains nothing more to be said on this Affair of my Lord *Antrim*, but a trifle of no great Importance, which I omitted to take Notice of in its proper Place. This Gentleman would fain set the Bishop right in an Objection that I have made against the Probability of the Bishop's knowing much of this Affair, from the rawness of his Age at this Time, when he brags to have seen much of the Management at this juncture: To obviate this Objection, he says, that the Bishop "does not pretend to give
" a methodical Relation of the Times before the Restoration, but only to relate
" some Particulars of those Times, that
" came to his Knowledge". If an Author will be so precise and exact, as constantly to set down in the Margent, as he goes along, the Date of the Year right against the Text of the Book, he must thank himself, if by his jumbling of Matters, there is any Mistake made in his Chronology: He owns, that young Mr. **Burnet** did not come to *London* till the Year 1662, though the Doctor, in his Book, marks the Years 60, and 61 in the Margent, when he mentions my Lord *Antrim*. For once we will give him a Year or two; this Concession will make him

no more than 19 years of Age, too small a difference of Time to do any great Service in ripening the Judgment, so as to qualify the young *Scotchman* to be an *English* Privy Counsellor.

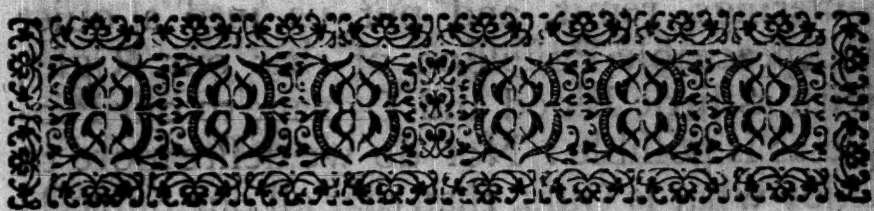
HIS next Objection is to what I have said of Dr. **Burnet**, in his Story from *Stoupe*; there is no need of disputing on this Head; he owns himself that there was a Mistake; I have had the Charity to charge him with no more, and have only warn'd the Reader not to have too implicit a Faith in the Narrative Part of his Book.

As to what he says of Dr. *Sharp* and General *Monk*, I hope that I have sufficiently answered those Calumnies, in my Remarks on Bishop **Burnet**; and if I have fail'd in regard to the General, all those barbarous Slanders, both of the Doctor and his Friend **Britannicus**, are intirely disprov'd in the excellent Preface to the Life of General *Monk*, written by Dr. *Skinner*, and lately published: To that Book I refer the Reader for his farther Satisfaction. I shall therefore only affirm in defence of Dr. *Sharp*, that he had intirely resign'd and given up his Agency for the *Presbyterians*, two Years before that he accepted the Archbishoprick of St. *Andrews*, and consequently could not betray when he was not trusted. The Malice
of

of this Journalist seems more ulcerated against General *Monk*, than even the Rage of Dr. *Burnet*; for when he would justify him, in his Aspersions on that Great Man, he uses this Expression, "But he blames him for doing it by impious and treacherous Means". I must once more appeal to the Reader, whether or no it is possible to believe, that a Man who is so hardy as to affirm, that General *Monk* us'd impious and treacherous Means in the Affair of the Restoration, is not, at the bottom of his Heart, intirely displeas'd at that more than glorious Revolution.

HIS next Objection is more extraordinary; in contradiction to what I have affirmed against a Mistake of Dr. *Burnet*, who would make the Declaration from *Breda* extend to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, *Britannicus*, to support the Falshood of that Assertion, in his way of Reasoning seems to insinuate an Argument that is not a little diverting; this is, because the King, in the Style of his Declaration, calls himself CHARLES, *by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c.* by Parity of Reason it extended to *France* also: This bold Man forces me to trouble the Reader with the whole Declaration, that he may be the better Judge between us.

His



*His Majesty's Gracious Declaration
to all his Loving Subjects.*

CHARLES, R.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our Loving Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting. If the general Distraction and Confusion which is spread over the whole Kingdom doth not awaken all Men to a Desire and Longing that those Wounds, which have so many Years together been kept Bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no Purpose: However, after this long Silence, we have thought it our Duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that as we can never give over the Hope, in good Time, to obtain the Possession of that Right which God and Nature hath made our Due; so we do make it our daily Suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in Compassion to us

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and

and our Subjects, after so long Misery and Sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable Possession of that our Right, with as little Blood and Damage to our People as is possible: Nor do we desire more to enjoy what is Ours, than that all our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is theirs, by a full and intire Administration of Justice throughout the Land, and by extending our Mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

AND to the End that the Fear of Punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a Perseverance in Guilt for the Future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of their Country in the Restoration both of King, Peers, and People, to their Just, Ancient, and Fundamental Rights: We do by these Presents declare, That we do Grant a Free and General Pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of *England*, to all our Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, who, within forty Days after the Publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our Grace and Favour, and shall by any publick Act declare their doing so; and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects; excepting only such Persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament: Those only excepted, let all our Subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the Word of a
King,

King, solemnly given by this present Declaration, That no Crime whatsoever committed against us, or our Royal Father, before the Publication of this, shall ever rise in Judgment, or be brought in Question, against any of them, to the least Endamage-ment of them, either in their Lives, Liberties or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in our Power) so much as to the Prejudice of their Reputations, by any Reproach, or Term of Distinction from the rest of any of our best Subjects; We desiring and ordaining, That henceforth all notes of Discord, Separation, and Difference of Parties, be utterly abolished among all our Subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themselves, under our Protection, for the Resettlement of Our just Rights and Theirs, in a free Parliament, by which, upon the Word of a King, we will be advised.

AND because the Passion and Uncharitableness of the Times have produced several Opinions in Religion, by which Men are engaged in Parties and Animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Conversation, will be composed, or better understood: We do declare a Liberty to tender Consciences, and that no Man shall be disquieted or call'd in question for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not disturb the

Peace of the Kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature Deliberation shall be offer'd to us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

AND because in the continued Distractions of so many Years, and so many and great Revolutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been made to and by many Officers, Soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to Actions at Law upon several Titles; We are likewise willing that all such Differences, and all Things relating to the said Grants, Sales, and Purchases, shall be determined in Parliament, which can best provide for the just Satisfaction of all Men who are concerned.

AND We do farther declare, that we will be ready to consent to any *Act or Acts of Parliament* to the Purposes aforesaid; and for the full Satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army under the Command of General *Monck*, and that they shall be received into Our Service, upon as good Pay and Conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under Our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, at Our Court at Breda, this 14th Day of April, 1660. in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.

THIS

THIS is the only Declaration dated at *Breda*, call'd by that Name, distinguish'd by that Name, and was the same which was read in both Houses of the Convention, upon which that Assembly immediately voted in the King. If the Reader can here find any Thing to support Dr. **Burnet**'s Assertion, "That the King, in his Declaration from *Breda*, promis'd to confirm the Settlement in *Ireland*", I will never believe my own Eyes any more. If the Bishop and his Friend mean any other Declaration, when they call it by the Name of *Breda*, they are both very much mistaken.

Britannicus is all of a Piece; in his preceding Remark he thought to impose on our Senses, and now he would do the same on our Understanding; his next Subterfuge in behalf of his Friend is so surprizingly weak and childish, that I am almost ashamed to answer it. In order to make Dr. **Burnet** consistent with himself, when in his Preface to Bishop *Bedel*'s Life he extols the *Scotch* Bishops at that Time to the Skies, and afterwards, in his last History, so grossly abuses the very same Men, though he speaks all along in the Plural Number, calls them "an Angelical Rank of Men", and that he "saw such Things in them", still again in the Plural Number, though the

Word Rank in the Sense that it is used, without any other addition of Plurality, is always a *numen multitudinis*; this Writer would have you believe that he meant only Bishop *Leighton*: If this is allow'd, there is no such Thing as Grammar.

WE are now come to his last Objection against us, in which, if possible, he is more extravagant than before. We have charg'd Dr. *Burnet* with asserting a Falshood in regard to the Religion of *Hubert*, who was hang'd for firing of *London*; this Man the Doctor affirms to have been a Papist, notwithstanding it was notoriously known to all his Countrymen here, as well as the whole Town of *Rouen* in *Normandy*, that he was born and bred a Protestant, liv'd a Protestant, own'd himself a Protestant in his Examination, as well as at his Execution, if a Man who was downright distracted may be said to be of one Religion more than another. In contradiction to this, *Britannicus*, to bring off Dr. *Burnet*, quotes the State Tracts in these Words, "It is observable that this miserable Creature, who confessed himself to the Committee to be a Protestant, was a Papist, &c". Such, he says, was the Report of the Committee to the House. *Britannicus* has been pleased to ask a Question upon this Occasion, "How those *Frenchmen* could prove his dying a
 " Pro-

“ Protestant” ? I answer, because the Man own’d himself to be so at his Death; no body can prove the Religion of another by any other Evidence. In return I must ask this Gentleman the same Question, How that Committee knew him to be a Papist, when he own’d himself to be a Protestant? Was there any Evidence produced that ever he had been seen at Mass, or that the Man had ever own’d himself of the Romish Religion? Without some such Information, they must have had the Gift and Faculty of entering into the secret Thoughts of Man. But let their Omnipotence be equal to their Omniscience, they could not make the same Person be in two Places at the same Time; for by the Oath of *Lawrence Peterson*, the Master of the Vessel who brought *Hubert* to *England* at this Time, he was still on board, and did not set his Foot on *English* Ground till two Days after the Fire began, and consequently could not be the first incendiary in *Pudding Lane*, notwithstanding he was so very mad as to own it: This Attestation of the Master being allow’d, which we have no Reason to question, the poor distracted *Frenchman* must have been innocent; and then the Religion of the Man will be of no Consequence, but to shew the Malice of Dr. *Burnet* and his Champion.

UPON this Story of the Fire he continues to justify the Bishop in his Account of *Grant's* stopping the Cocks at *Islington*; and though I have prov'd, that it could not be done without an Order of the Board, of which Minutes are always taken, as also, that *Grant* was not at that Time a Member of the Company, however, he insists upon the Probability of the Thing by this trifling Insinuation, that he was to be one soon, and as he was a Projector, might make Improvements in their Works, and so gain Admittance: All this is less probable, if what I have been told by some old Men is true, that at the Time of the great Fire, that lower Part of the Town near the River was not supply'd with Water from *Islington*, but from the Neighbouring Mill on the Bridge, which being accidentally out of Order at that Time, occasion'd the want of Water; but whether that was so or no is not worth while to dispute: The Story itself is so very silly, that as nothing but Ignorance, as well as Malice, could invent it; so any Man must have an equal share of Weakness to believe it; for supposing *Grant*, who had the Reputation of an honest Man, could have been so wicked, as well as silly, to form so absurd a Project; can any Man conceive, that in such an Exigence and Calamity, when the Capital City was all
in

in Flames, that they would have made the least Scruple, to have broke open any Door, Main, Lock or Sluice, which might have been done in six Minutes as well as in six hundred?

As to the ill breeding with which he taxes me, in calling the Countess of *Clarendon* an old Woman; all that I shall answer is, that what would not be polite at a Tea-Table, may be allow'd to the Gravity as well as the Necessity of telling Truth in History. But when he says, that I took her for her Husband's Mother; I must tell him, that the Mistake lies at his Door, I had no such Thought, having the Honour to know that Family much better than **Britannicus**: My Lord *Clarendon's* Mother, who was Daughter to Sir *Thomas Aylesbury*, must have been old enough to have been probably dead at the Time of the Fire: The Lady, that I meant, was my Lord *Clarendon's* second Wife; she had been twice a Widow, first *Bishop*, and then *Backhouse*, before she marry'd my Lord *Clarendon*, to whom she was too Old to bring any Children; and by some Accounts in Dr. **Burnet**, his Conversation with that Lady was after the Revolution, at which Time she could not be a young Woman: But if I have committed any Indecorum on this Occasion,

cation, my Crime will be a little extenuated
 by this Consideration, that the Lady was
 dead, when I put her under that terrible
 Denomination of an old Woman, and con-
 sequently such a Scandal could not spoil her
 fourth Marriage. He charges the same ill
 breeding on me in Relation to the Bishop
 of *Worcester*, for no other Reason, that I
 can imagine, but my calling him good old
 Prophet. When a Man once arrives to that
 warmth of Imagination as to dabble in the
Revelations, and from thence predict the
 Downfal of the Pope, under the Notion of
 Antichrist, and Whore of *Babylon*; as this
 sort of Light most commonly enters in at
 some crack in the Scull, the Title of Pro-
 phet given to such a Person will not be
 thought the severest Appellation: In all o-
 ther Respects, that Reverend Prelate is ob-
 lig'd to my Charity, in ascribing to his
 Weakness and Credulity, what a severer
 Writer, who had known the Man, would
 have imputed to his Insincerity and Malice.
 I have at least this to say in my Justifica-
 tion, that the Persons whom he charges
 me with personally ill treating, though I
 have kept within the bounds of Decency
 and good Language, were three popular
 Divines, who in the Reign of CHARLES
 the second kept warm the Sedition, and at
 a certain juncture did more Mischief than
 any

any number of Men whatsoever, not only by their own fruitful Inventions, but in supporting, by their Credit with the People, some of the greatest Extravagancies in that epidemical Delusion, which has done no great Honour to the *English* Nation.

THUS we have gone over the Observations of this Critick, who has certainly one Advantage in not being known: A Man without a Name is no body; he may say what he pleases, without any ill Consequence to himself; whatever he asserts, though never so false, when detected, cannot hurt his personal Reputation: But it is no generous way of Fighting; he wounds in the Dark, and ought to be liable to the Statute of Stabbing; at least the late Act against *Blacks* makes him more criminal, in hiding his Face when he goes about to do Mischief. When next, according to the Custom of the Journalists, **Britannicus** writes a Letter to himself, if he will be so generous as to pull off his Mask, and set his Name, we shall be able to judge, whether or no he has exceeded the Sphere of his own Function, in thus meddling with Politicks, as well as his Friend Dr. **Burnet**. Some, who pretend to know this mighty Author, have affirm'd, that he was a kind of Pupil to that noble Prelate, and
lay

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lay at the Feet of that great *Gamaliel*: If so, with the Felicity of the famous *Raphael del Urbin*, the Scholar has infinitely transcended his Master.

ERRATA.

P 85. l. r. for *is* r. *are*. p. 92. l. 9. for *Carty* r. *Party*. p. 29. l. 20. after the Word *perjuries* dele "the marginal Marks. p. 218. l. 12. for *Natue* r. *Nature*. p. 233. l. 17. for *diametically* r. *diametrically*. p. 254. l. 15. for *discent* r. *dissent*. p. 262. l. 14. for *flown* r. *bad flown*. p. 264. l. 7. after the Word *indulg'd* dele *in*. p. 278. l. 21. for *induced* r. *indued*. p. 280. l. 12. for *hostia* r. *Hofte*. p. 289. l. 22. after the Word *besides*, put a Comma. p. 293. l. 17. for *own'd* r. *ow'd*. p. 305. l. 9. after the Word *brought* r. *about*. p. 306. l. 26. after the Word *beside* dele the Comma. p. *ibid* l. 29. for *makes* r. *make*. p. 307. l. 3. after the Word *lyngs* dele the Comma. p. 314. l. 14. for *Proofs* r. *Proof*.

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